

# The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine*

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## History Teaching in Germany

BY PROFESSOR R. W. KELSEY, HAVERFORD COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

I feel fortunate as a reader of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK to have had access to the various articles contributed in recent months by those who have traveled recently in Europe. From England to Greece, from Spain to Czecho-Slovakia, we readers have been led by skilled guides, competent to see and evaluate things of interest to students of history.

From my own contribution I shall omit my observation of general conditions in Germany, for those have been described vividly and accurately by Doctor Textor in the January number of this paper. While in Germany in the fall of 1920, I made such inquiry as I was able into the teaching of history during and since the war. Before leaving the country I made arrangements with my former teacher, Doctor Adolph Gerber, retired, to send out for me a questionnaire to various teachers and professors of history. Most of the material that follows has come to my hand recently as a result of that questionnaire. Names of my informants are omitted from this article as stipulated when the questions were sent out.

### I. EFFECTS OF WAR ON SCHOOL HISTORY CURRICULA

#### *a. Saxony*

The material immediately following emanated from the Ministry of Education in Saxony and refers to the courses of instruction in the higher schools, the *Gymnasien*, *Realgymnasien*, and *Oberrealschulen*, which take children of about nine years of age and carry them through a course of nine years.

In the first months of the war provision was made for extra work in history and civics for those whose course of study was shortened by reason of army service. Thus the following, from a decree dated Dresden, February 4, 1915: "The distribution of work in the higher schools of Saxony was such that the many young men who left school three years before graduation, with the privilege of serving only one year in the army instead of two, received no instruction in German history during their last two years in school, and left without sufficient and sound knowledge of the history of their own country. To meet the most satisfactory deepening of the general patriotic feeling a *weekly extra recitation in history is to be introduced during the last two years*. It is to be used for a *review of important parts of German history and for an introduction to civics*. To gain this extra time a recitation in ancient or modern languages or in mathematics is to be dropped."

In another decree, issued at Dresden, December 30, 1915, teachers are recommended to teach the history of their own country most fully, but to beware of nationalistic (jingoistic) onesidedness. On the latter point the following comment was given—golden words for war time: "Though in the graduating class ample time should be given to this history of the most recent time, and especially also to the treatment of the world war ('*Weltkrieg*'), the advice of short-sighted zealots should be declined who would prefer to see the instruction in history . . . limited to the most recent German history and to have the national viewpoint emphasized more and more exclusively. Such instruction would soon lead to a regrettable onesidedness of historical judgment. Also the new Prussian decree discountenances such narrow-minded nationalism. . . . A correct and vivid comprehension of the nature of one's own people, and of their life and work, cannot be obtained without a sufficient knowledge of the great world historical events in the life of other civilized nations that have influenced the intellectual and political development of our nation. Hence Greece and Rome, the nations of medieval civilization, and of the Renaissance, and not least also the English, French and other nations of modern times, with their political and intellectual life, must retain a due place in the instruction of the higher classes in history."

In a decree dated at Dresden, May 8, 1916, the following work in history is prescribed for the last six years in the higher schools:

"*Untertertia*: German history, from the foundation of the Frankish kingdom (Chlodwig) to the close of the Thirty Years' War." 2 hours per week.

"*Obertertia*: German history, 1648-1815." 2 hours per week.

"*Untersekunda*: German history, 1815 to the present." 2 hours per week.

"*Obersekunda*: Ancient history. German history to the death of Conrad I. In ancient history the state of civilization is to be made most prominent. Political events are to be treated in detail only at the climaxes of history. All possibilities are to be exhausted to develop political education and historical judgment, according to the comprehension of the class. Clear definitions of the various forms of the state; effects of the state of civilization and the characteristic qualities of a nation upon the course of its political history; inward causes of its rise and

fall; exposition of larger historical correlations; historical parallels and parallels from the history of civilization; antiquity the root of our civilization." 3 hours per week.

*"Unterprima:* German history, 919-1786. The knowledge acquired in the former classes is to be deepened and also raised to higher viewpoints. . . . Foreign history to be treated as far as it is important for German history. Colonial history to be given due attention." 3 hours per week.

*"Oberprima:* German history, from 1786 to the present. Manner of treatment as in *Unterprima*. A thorough treatment of the world war, embracing the events leading up to it, its course, and the duties it imposes upon us as a nation and as individuals, is to be duly considered as one of the principal objects of the whole educational course." 3 hours per week.

From the above outline of courses it seems obvious that the history taught in the higher schools of Saxony continues to be much more nationalistic in scope than in the corresponding grades of American schools.

To those school officials in America who keep insisting on a decrease in the number of history hours, it may be enlightening to know that in Saxony since the war (by a decree of February 11, 1919), the number of history hours is increased by two, five and six, respectively, in the *Oberrealschulen*, *Gymnasien* and *Realgymnasien*. Geography is given a still greater increase, "to widen the horizon of the future citizen and to promote his comprehension of the tasks of national and international economies."

#### b. Prussia

In Prussia (and in other German states from which official data have not been secured) there was the problem of remodeling historical and other instruction to meet the new political situation after the revolution of November 9, 1918. On November 14, 1919, the Prussian Minister of Education warned the teachers in the schools not to foster any "partisan spirit" among their pupils.

In a second decree, issued at Berlin, December 6, 1919, the same minister declared: "Since the textbooks of history which have been used hitherto do not meet the present requirements, a thorough recasting of these books will be necessary, which can be done only after the school conference of the empire. During the transition period I decree that the textbooks introduced hitherto are not to be used in class instruction any longer and that the pupils should no longer be required to buy them."

The enforcement of this regulation apparently was difficult. (The present writer has definite knowledge that in one part of Prussia at least the decree has not been obeyed to this day.) As a result, on April 8, 1920, an explanatory decree stated: "The decree of December 6th does not forbid the purchase of the textbooks hitherto employed, nor, of course, their use at home in the preparation of lessons."

While the history of royal and imperial Germany could not be quickly revamped in the textbooks, it was at least possible to instruct the German youth in the mysteries of republican government. Hence

a decree of September 4, 1920: "It is necessary to acquaint the pupils with the foundations of the new state. It is, therefore, decreed that in all institutions of learning for male and female pupils the introduction of the pupils into the constitution of the Empire should be undertaken at once." This study is to be carried on in connection with the study of history or of German.

Commendable breadth of view was shown in the following expression of the Prussian Ministry of Education early in 1921: "The new textbooks of history can be composed only after a fair start has been made in remodeling the system of higher education. It is impossible to regulate their composition by decrees, but it should be left to free scholarly competition. It is to be hoped that the instruction in the new constitution of the Empire will lead to a comprehension of the present form of government among the pupils. A member of the Ministerium, Herr Rommel, has composed a commentary on the constitution, entitled: 'Die Verfassung des deutschen Reiches, Leitfaden zum Gebrauche in Schule und Haus,' which corresponds to the intentions of the Minister.

"The instruction in history in the universities has not been made the object of any official decree. Here still more than in the schools the principle must remain inviolate that the new political ideas must win recognition through their own strength." (The present writer has trustworthy information that the university professors and students are in most parts of Germany becoming more and more opposed to the present form of government and many, if not most of them, are pro-monarchist.)

#### c. Bavaria

In Bavaria the same problem was faced of adjusting the textbooks of history to the new situation after the revolution (a commentary upon the writing of partisan history!). At first, the teachers were told to use the former textbooks, but "with due discretion." By December, 1920, the recasting of textbooks of history was already under way.

In Bavaria also a copy of the new Constitution of the Empire is handed free of charge to all pupils on leaving school, and by a decision of the Bavarian Landtag they are also to receive a copy of the new Constitution of Bavaria, and an abstract (extract) of the Treaty of Versailles.

## II. GREATER INTEREST IN MODERN HISTORY

Is there a greater interest in modern history or in all history since the war?

On this question, replies were received from eight university professors and three teachers in the higher schools. Nearly all of them answered in the affirmative, some very decisively.

The following extracts from the replies of two university professors are of especial interest:

a. "Yes, not because of a scientific interest in the past, but a political interest in the present. I am treating modern history exclusively both in my lectures and in my seminary work. I am lecturing, *e. g.*,

on History since 1871; Modern Democracy (U. S. A., Switzerland, England, France); the Peace of Versailles; the Constitution of the German Empire; the British World Empire."

b. (The following is from Professor Jacob, of Tübingen University, who specified that his name might be used.) "This question is to be answered with a decided 'Yes.' A very large majority of our students have a strong national sentiment, which has kept increasing since the revolution and the national humiliation which it has brought upon us. This is especially true of the younger students who have just graduated from the schools. Hence it is a matter of course that they should evince a far more vivid interest in modern and recent history than they did before the war, especially in German history, in the great questions of politics, in the great men of history. This applies in particular to all kinds of 'Korporationsstudenten' [i. e., students united in societies or fraternities, most of them wearing distinctive ribbons and colored caps], who are decidedly opposed to pacifism and internationalism, and to democracy of the kind we have at present in Germany. Thus, also, the professors of history in our university are laying more and more stress upon the treatment of modern and recent history and endeavor to promote political education. Very useful in this respect are the debating evenings (Diskussionsabende) which are maintained especially by the 'Korporationsstudenten' or 'Verbindungen' [the latter is the more common term].

"On these occasions, students under the guidance of professors make reports on historical and political questions and then enter into a general discussion of them."

### III. UNIVERSITY COURSES IN MODERN HISTORY

It may be of interest to American teachers and professors of history to know the kinds of courses in modern history now being given in some of the great German universities.

#### a. University of Berlin

Russia since 1914, with special reference to the border countries.

Peter the Great and Modern Russia to the present.

History of Southeastern Europe.

Problems of political economy in Eastern Europe in their relation to Germany.

Austrian history, 1790-1914.

German history in the 19th century.

The war of 1870-1871.

German history, 1815-1914.

Alsace and the eastern provinces of Germany.

Germany and the Treaty of Versailles.

World history, 1815-1871.

Geographical conditions of the development of states.

Constitutions and administrations of European states, from the close of the Middle Age to the present.

History of East India to the present.

History of the German labor movement, 1814-1918.

Karl Marx, his life and his teachings.

State and society in Germany in the 19th century.

International economics.

#### b. University of Breslau

History of the 19th century.

Bismarck.

History of political parties in Germany.

Constitutional history of Germany in the 19th century.

The colonies of the great powers, with special reference to the former German colonies.

Economic questions of the day.

Economic and social history of Western Europe.

Sources for the history of the revolution of 1848-1849.

#### c. University of Göttingen

German history in the age of Bismarck to the formation of the empire.

World history, 1871-1914.

Conference on the Peace of Versailles.

German constitutional history.

Historical foundations of the British national character.

#### d. University of Königsberg

Foreign politics at the present time.

World history since 1890 [dismissal of Bismarck].

Geographical foundations of the Polish state.

History of the United States of America.

The British colonies.

#### e. University of Leipzig

The world powers of the present time.

History of the United States of America.

Modern France since 1789.

Modern German economic history.

History of Socialism and Communism.

The dismissal of Bismarck.

Economic questions of the day.

Modern European commercial history.

#### f. University of Marburg

Problems of the present in the light of history.

General history in the age of Bismarck, 1851-1871.

The French revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

History of the theories of socialism.

The labor question.

#### g. University of Munich

England and the British world power from the close of the Middle Ages to the present.

Bavaria and Germany from the wars of liberation to the world war and the German revolution.

### IV. BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

How can professors of history, by their teaching, lead to a better understanding among nations?

a. "By a real knowledge of German history on the part of professors of history in other countries. Wilson did not know anything about it. Otherwise, his work at Versailles was a conscious crime."



b. "By spreading a better knowledge of foreign countries and a comprehension of the difference in the vital conditions of various states."

c. "By teaching objective truth, as far as this is possible for mortals; the right of each nation should be emphasized. By genuine service in the cause of progress (*Kulturarbeit*), new relations among states should be established. I am an adherent of a *just League of Nations*."

d. "By seeking supreme humanity (*höchstes allgemeines Menschentum*) and cultivating simultaneously the sacred foundations of one's own nationality: cosmopolitanism on a national basis."

e. "By an impartial representation of the institutions and conditions of foreign nations."

f. "By educating man to love truth."

g. "By representing things frankly and honestly as they are."

h. "In the future, when passion has subsided, by carefully studying the history of foreign nations and representing it impartially."

i. (The following is by Professor Jacob, of the University of Tübingen, whose name is used by special permission.) "We professors of history may contribute to a better mutual understanding among nations if we see to it that a correct comprehension of history gets into wider circles; i. e., that a general fraternity of the nations and pacifism are a humbug; that every nation may make claims in the world in proportion to the force it possesses to make its assets in morals, civilization, economic development and political energy prevail; that weak and indolent nations, incapable of political existence, ought to disappear and submit to higher civilizations and stronger political energies. The best example of this theory is the United States of America." [I take it that Professor Jacob means that we Americans have proved our right to existence and dominance because we have developed the force to make our ideals prevail. It is not the purpose of the present writer to comment upon the sentiments of those who were so courteous as to reply to his questions.]

#### V. FINANCIAL STATUS OF TEACHERS

Teachers of history in America will find a real point of contact with their professional colleagues in Germany in the matter of the personal economic problem. To my question about the effect of the war on the economic status of teachers the following replies were received:

a. "Salaries a little more than doubled. Expenses tenfold. In general, professors are threatened with a desolate descent to the state of proletarians (*Proletarisierung*)."

b. "The rise of salaries is not proportionate to the rise of prices and it varies greatly. The professors who formerly received fair salaries now receive three to four times as much. The lecture fees paid by students have been raised 60 per cent. Prices are eight to tenfold."

(The two replies above are from universities of central Germany. The following three are from higher schools of Prussia.)

c. "The purchasing value of our present salaries is one-quarter that of pre-war salaries, though we receive nominally three times as much salary now. During the war we were close to starvation, of which we are proud. We suffered for our country."

d. "Increase of salary threefold. Increase of prices tenfold."

e. "Increase of salary about three times. Increase of prices ten to twenty times. Meats, suits, overcoats and shoes cost twenty times as much."

#### VI. ANTI-DEMOCRATIC VIEWS

While the question of German democracy was not raised in the questionnaire, it is interesting and important to notice some of the views voluntarily expressed. While no opposition is expressed to the principle of democracy in general, there seems to be an increasing aversion on the part of many intellectuals from the variety of democracy now being exemplified in the German government. Whether any other government dealing with the same critical problems, in a time of widespread distress, would be any more popular is a question that cannot be answered.

In the reply of Professor Jacob, of the University of Tübingen, noted in section II above, it was pointed out that many university students "are decidedly opposed to pacifism and internationalism and democracy of the kind we have at present in Germany."

Another professor remarks that one of the first duties of the Germans is "to create a national government, which *our* democracy has shown itself unable to form."

The Prussian Minister of Education, in a recent article in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, admits that the parties of the Left have not succeeded in keeping intellectual Germany enthused for the republic (*Volksstaat*) during the past two years. According to him, by far the greater part of university teachers, a very great portion of the teachers in the higher schools, also many higher officials, physicians, lawyers, writers, artists and others are attached to the parties of the Right and long at the bottom of their hearts for a return of the monarchy; likewise the elections to student committees (*Studentenausschüsse*) at the various universities show strong majorities of the parties of the Right—in Berlin 2 to 1, in one case 7 to 1. [It might be added that the recent elections to the Prussian Landtag showed the same tendency among the voters in general. While the various socialist groups did not lose many seats (although among themselves the swing was toward the radical element), the Democrats went down from 65 to 26, and the extreme Right went up from 27 to 75.] The Prussian Minister of Education feels that the principal reason for this revulsion of feeling is the fact that the parties of the Left accepted the Treaty of Versailles.

A German professor, commenting on the above views of the Minister of Education, recognizes "the failure of the *German variety* of democracy to satisfy the national sentiment of the educated classes." He



goes on, however, to make the following comment: "The Minister should go back beyond the Treaty of Versailles to the Revolution of November 9, 1918, which gave the Allies the power of imposing such a humiliation upon Germany. It may be said that the Allies, by availing themselves of their chance to impose such a treaty, nipped *true* democracy in the bud in Germany and prepared the way for a future return of some freer form of monarchy, which they professed to abhor. If England cannot subjugate Ireland, how are England and France to subjugate permanently a Germany which they are welding together by extortionate demands?"

#### CONCLUSION

The facts given above as to the effects of the war on teachers and the teaching of history will be welcomed by all American teachers. The writer wishes to express his thanks to the German teachers and professors who were willing to supply these data to their late "enemies." Some of the *opinions* expressed appear no doubt erroneous to the readers as to the writer of this article. But the purpose of this paper is merely to place before American readers the results of the questionnaire. It is for Americans, who have not felt the bitterness of defeat, and especially for historians trained to dispassionate judgment, to read the opinions of their German colleagues carefully and evaluate them justly.

#### COMMUNICATION

##### THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

Never was the difficulty of making statements about the present grievous conditions in Russia more clearly illustrated than in the article about the situation in that country prepared by Professor C. C. Eckhardt, and carried in the HISTORICAL OUTLOOK for March. It is unfortunate, but true, that perfectly honest observers differ radically as to the value of the Russian evidence available, and that many of them would state the "disheartening" circumstances under the Soviet system far more emphatically than has seemed possible to Professor Eckhardt.

The real facts about Russia seem still to be hidden under a mist of angry discussion, but in the *firm opinion* of many American observers of Russian conditions the following things appear to be evident:

1. The Soviets have been pitiless and cruel beyond the old French Terrorists in killing their opponents wholesale, and silencing fair criticisms with the prison and the firing squad.

2. The Soviets, by holding the helpless relatives of unwilling "bourgeois" officers (compelled to serve in the Bolshevik armies) as hostages for these officers' fidelity; by putting whole classes of persons opposed to their political program upon starvation rations, while awarding to their own armed myrmidons a liberal dietary, and generally by upsetting very many of those common decencies of society and morals usual in modern countries—they have shown themselves barbarous beyond recent precedent.

3. The Soviets have showed such marked bad faith in dealing with other governments (instigating "proletarian" revolutions at the very time they were pretending to be negotiating for peace) that foreign statesmen later have

reached provisional compacts with them only with the greatest hesitancy, and with extreme precautions to guard against the results of treachery.

4. The Soviets have repudiated all the obligations and debts of former governments (including debts due the United States) and have shown no unequivocal intention of ever paying these debts. They have cast aside the treaties made by Russia in the past as "scraps of paper," without even advancing the plea of "necessity" used by Germany for the violation of Belgium. Now they request the world to trust them as to the future, when they have shown themselves faithless as to the past.

5. The Soviets have repudiated and brought into contempt Christianity, just so far as they have dared to go without enraging the great masses of the peasants. They consider religion in general, and Christianity in particular, as silly "idealism," unworthy of "emancipated" persons like the Bolsheviks.

6. The Soviets' excuse that the "blockade" is the cause of the undeniable wretchedness of Russia today is rejected by very many observers. Russia is a great food-producing country. There are locomotives and cars enough for distributing this food if the Bolsheviks had the skill to repair them and the humanity to induce their present bondsmen (the industrial classes) to perform efficient, cheerful work. Today Russia is utterly miserable because of the sheer inefficiency and floundering of the Bolshevik leaders. They try to hoodwink their western sympathizers into charging off this failure to the blockade when the actual reason is evident.

Since Professor Eckhardt has published his article, Secretary of Commerce Hoover has stated officially that practically the only hope for Russia is for her to become again "a productive country," but that *this is impossible* "without a fundamental change in their [the Soviets'] whole economic system," barring which change, he declares, "there will be no consequential trade or production, and no stoppage of continuous degeneration." Whether the Leninists will realize this stern fact until their whole vast land is plunged in ruin is at this writing unanswered.

On March 25, 1921, the United States Government in a formal statement emphatically refused to consider reopening trade relations with Russia until there had been these "fundamental changes" in the Soviet régime, and, treating certain optimistic statements as worthless, Secretary of State Hughes intimated that until these alterations had been made and genuine evidence thereof supplied, "this [American] government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations [with Soviet Russia]."

Russia is a great nation, with a great future. The curse, nevertheless, of past and present conditions weighs heavily upon her. Probably if she is left pretty strictly alone, the great inherent common sense of her people will presently rid them of the Soviet incubus. In the meantime, however, I think it only fair to tell the readers of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK that, concerning the merits of the existing Bolshevik régime, there is a sharp difference of opinion among honest students of Russian affairs.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

The University of Minnesota,

Minneapolis, Minn., March 27, 1921.

# The Rise and Fall of the Independent Treasury

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On July 1, 1921, the United States Sub-Treasury system, or the Independent Treasury, as it is more commonly called, ceases to exist by act of Congress. After an experience covering fifty-five years, the Government announces that the theory of the complete separation of State and Bank is impracticable. The Independent Treasury arose, in part, from the need felt by the Government to control its own funds. The power of the second United States Bank as a depository of Government funds was deemed detrimental to the interests of the country, and the state banks had demonstrated their inability to handle the situation. Yet today the law abolishing the Sub-Treasuries authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to "utilize any of the Federal Reserve banks" as depositories or fiscal agents of the United States. Thus a cycle in the banking history of our land has been completed. If we examine carefully the legislative career of the Independent Treasury we will find that it falls naturally into three distinct periods; first, the period of inception brought on by the struggle over the old second United States Bank and the distress following the panic of 1837; second, its final establishment after numerous attempts in 1846 and its functioning from that date to the present; and lastly, the recent attack following the enactment of the Federal Reserve law and the ultimate abolition of the Independent Treasury. In the first period the dominant note of interest is the long struggle between Nicholas Biddle and the Government; in the second, the attempt of the system to maintain its independence and the gradual acknowledgment of the futility of this policy; and in the last, the awakening of a consciousness that the Independent Treasury had outlived its usefulness. Throughout the whole history of this unique attempt in banking, party politics and mundane interests hold our attention. And a recital of the events connected with the story verifies this statement.

When Congress assembled in the fall of 1837 to handle the financial distress then prevalent, President Van Buren outlined his views, setting forth the main features of the Independent Treasury. The scheme had been suggested to him by Dr. Brockenbrough, of Richmond, Virginia. The doctor had proposed a complete divorce of state and bank, and the establishment of a system of Federal depositories, two or more to a state, under the charge and management of Federal commissioners. Brockenbrough prophesied a clamor would be raised by politicians "about the increased patronage for the appointment of these commissioners, and by the merchants about locking up funds that ought to be profitably used"; but, the doctor continued, there would not be as much patronage as with the present deposit banks.<sup>1</sup> The idea impressed the President, especially as he was adverse to returning to the old United States

Bank, at that time the United States Bank of Pennsylvania. Accordingly, against the advice of many of his friends,<sup>2</sup> Van Buren suggested the designation of certain public officers to keep and disburse the public money. The message was received with horror, exultation and doubt by the various sections of the country. The deposit banks of New York considered themselves the most abused people in the land; the intimate friends of Biddle stated that the United States Bank would have to act as mediator between the Government and the deposit banks.

On September 14th, Senator Wright, of New York, as chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported a bill to establish an independent treasury; on the 20th of the month the debate began in the Senate. Immediately Calhoun proposed an amendment to the original proposition to the effect that all officers of the Government should be prohibited from accepting anything in payment of revenue except coin. Senator Rives, of Virginia, in behalf of the Bank Democrats, offered an amendment to continue the deposit system. Presumably, three plans were before Congress: one, advocated by Clay and the bank men for the re-establishment of a national bank; the second, for the continuance of the existing deposit bank system with some modifications; and lastly, the Sub-Treasury sanctioned and fathered by Van Buren and the regular Democratic organization. As the debate progressed both parties began to shift their original positions. Democrats, who under Jackson, had advocated the deposit scheme now opposed it; while the Whigs heretofore violent opponents of the "pet banks," insisted that the withdrawal of the public funds from the banks would destroy the financial interests of the land. Proclaiming the increase of executive patronage, the union of sword and purse, the separation of government from the people, and the injustice to the banks and to the country at large, the Whig cohorts gathered about their leaders. On the opposite side, the Democrats stated the divorce of bank and state would give the Treasury full knowledge of its funds; free Congress from bank influence, and restore public confidence in the banks by forcing them to reorganize on a sound financial basis.

On the Senate floor, Clay and Webster defended the Whig position; while Calhoun, already grown tired of his association with the Whigs, "fearing the renewed danger of legislative encroachment," and no longer the "danger of executive usurpation," pronounced his independent political position by indorsing the Van Buren measure and by speaking of Jackson as "that great, remarkable man."<sup>3</sup> Truly, the Sub-Treasury bill was making a strange alignment of political forces in Congress.

The Whigs in the Senate counted on not only blocking the Sub-Treasury bill, but through the help of the Bank Democrats on recreating the old national



bank. To this end, one month before Congress assembled, a friend of the United States Bank had visited Saratoga Springs for the purpose of conferring with the leader of the Bank Democrats, Senator Tallmadge of New York, in order to line up the members-elect to Congress to sustain him in his course and arrange for meetings in various sections of the state to uphold these liberal movements. Six days after Congress convened another adherent of the bank wrote Tallmadge advising him of the most popular method to adopt in order to defeat the Sub-Treasury bill; while on the same day Biddle was congratulated on the disunion among the Democrats and the belief that the Conservatives (Bank Democrats) would go with the Whigs.<sup>4</sup> But on the crucial vote, the Conservatives failed to answer the purpose of the Whigs and the bill for the Sub-Treasury passed by a vote of 26 to 20.<sup>5</sup> In the House, however, the Virginia Conservatives stood by the Whigs, with the result that the bill was killed by a vote of 120 to 6.<sup>6</sup>

The December message of the President returned to the subject undaunted by the late defeat. But the former contest had taught Van Buren the need of compromise. Thus, the tone of the message was more conciliatory toward state banks, and intimated that if the majority of Congress could not agree with the original proposal a suitable substitute might be found in its stead.<sup>7</sup> This section was referred to Senator Wright, as Chairman of the Finance Committee, and on the 16th of January a bill, including Calhoun's former amendment of the "specie clause," was presented to the Senate. Rives of Virginia proposed a substitute midway between the national bank and the independent treasury by selecting twenty-five banks as public depositories, and around these measures the Senate resumed its struggle.

However, the debate in this session did not present many new attractions over that of the former discussion. Calhoun urged haste; Clay advised delay. Tallmadge of New York once more got in touch with Biddle and sought new arguments against the measure. Clay taunted Calhoun for aiding the enemy, while the latter referred to the historic Adams-Clay coalition as a precedent.

But the fate of the measure was not decided in the Senate; the controlling force came from without; and came from the seat of the opposition—Nicholas Biddle. During the previous debate of 1837, the Bank Democrats had not rendered the desired aid in obstructing the administration as Biddle had hoped they would. Now the careful financier turned to Clay as the leader of the Bank men to command the forces while the master mind at Philadelphia directed the maneuvers. The plan adopted was to get the state legislatures to instruct their Senators to vote against the measure; and four days after the debate began in the Senate Biddle set to work on this scheme. Clay was instructed to delay the vote on the measure, while Biddle, through his cohorts in the legislature at Harrisburg, secured resolutions instructing Buchanan to oppose the measure. After skillful work on Biddle's part, these were obtained on the 16th,<sup>8</sup> but on the final vote Biddle's work was overthrown

by a vote of 27 to 25.<sup>9</sup> As Sergeant stated, the Southerners had supported the Sub-Treasury in order to get their own trade into their own hands. The mass of them had been sincere; Calhoun had used it "only to cloak his own ambition."<sup>10</sup>

The House still had to decide the fate of the Senate bill, and, when the bill was introduced, the administration determined to end the struggle. In alarm at the renewed strength of the Government, Sergeant of Pennsylvania, the leader of the Bank men, went to Philadelphia to consult Biddle, and agents of the Bank were sent to Washington to explain to the representatives from Pennsylvania how to defeat the new project. So imminent seemed the danger that Biddle asked Sergeant for a list of all those who would vote against it and also how many votes were needed in addition.<sup>11</sup> This time success crowned the efforts of the national bank, for on the 25th of June the House negatived the measure 125 to 111.<sup>12</sup> Thus the measure was disposed of for the session of 1838.

Then followed a transaction, the strangest in all this long contest, between Bank and Government. On July 11th, Mr. Kimble, of the House of Representatives, on behalf of the Secretary of War, called upon Biddle to know whether the bonds of the Bank given as security for the debt due to the Government at the expiration of the charter as a national bank could be made available "for the use of the Department." Seizing the chance, Biddle agreed to advance the money needed on the first, second, and, perhaps, third bonds, "if it could be made to the interest of both the Department and the Bank." Therefore, if the Secretary would arrange to have the bonds placed at his disposal to raise the money on them, and let the United States Bank of Pennsylvania know "how," where and when the disbursements were to be made, "the Bank would be glad to lend its aid."<sup>13</sup> Thus, the Bank of the United States, a state institution, was to become once more the depository of the Government funds. As Biddle wrote to one of his friends, "after all the nonsense of the last few years, the Government takes in payment of a bond a credit in a bank which does not pay specie yet, and which had declared that it did not mean to pay specie until that very Government had abandoned its course. . . . We resume on the 13th of this month. We begin without having sacrificed any great interest. We begin with a wide circle of resusers, whom our delay has enabled to prepare, and we begin after having fairly beaten down the Government and secured the ascendancy of reason for the future. We arrive in port without having been under the necessity of throwing over any of our cargo. We arrive for every useful purpose, just as soon as our neighbors, who lost overboard a large part of the passengers; and we only stopped on the way to sink a pirate. So that, on the whole, I have no reason to be dissatisfied with our course."<sup>14</sup>

Confident that the struggle was over, and wearied with his exertions, the brilliant head of the corporation now determined to retire. On March 29, 1839, Biddle resigned the presidency of the bank and the institution was turned over to new hands. Under

the guidance of these men the bank started on the last lap of its career. Plunging into the cotton market, it became involved in dubious cotton transactions; aroused a storm of protest by its actions; finally, on October 9, 1839, closed its doors. The next day the banks of Baltimore suspended specie payments, and within a few days the banks of the north and the west followed. The panic of 1839 was upon the nation, and Nicholas Biddle was no longer present to guide the fortunes of the distressed bank nor to check the Government in its last attempt at an independent treasury.

With unflinching steadfastness, Van Buren again proposed to Congress the passage of his favorite measure. Already the election of 1840 was looming in the distance. Party lines were being drawn with this end in view, and, therefore, both sides prepared for the struggle. Both turned to the House of Representatives to gain control in the opening skirmishes. Much depended upon the organization of the House and the complexion of the Senate. When Congress assembled, December 2, 1839, there were 121 Democrats and 113 Whigs in the House, with a double delegation from New Jersey claiming seats. After a period of great confusion, R. M. T. Hunter, a States Rights Man, but favorable to the independent treasury, was chosen Speaker, and the House decided to seat the five Democratic representatives, thereby giving the Democrats 126 votes and the Whigs 115. With the House in their control, five vacancies in the Senate and the panic of 1839 to arouse the people against the banks, the administration resolved to push rapidly the independent treasury before the Whigs could bring the state legislatures to instruct their men to vote against the bill.

Accordingly, on January 14th, Wright of New York presented the bill to the Senate. The familiar arguments so often explained since 1837 were reiterated by friend and foe. Clay fulminated against the bill to no avail, for on the 23d the measure passed the Senate. In the House the opponents strove to stave its passage by insisting upon the maintenance of the rules which placed private and important measures before the Sub-Treasury on the calendar, by delaying legislation through filibustering and by continually leaving the hall and thereby preventing a quorum.<sup>15</sup> In utter despair, Jackson was appealed to for aid,<sup>16</sup> and in a thunderous attack the sage of Nashville called upon all Democrats as "faithful soldiers to unite and be on their posts and pass the Independent Treasury Bill."<sup>17</sup> Thus, impelled by Jackson and whipped into line by blasts from the *Globe*, the Democrats remained at their station, and at last, on June 30th, by a vote of 123 to 99 passed the bill.<sup>18</sup> July 4, 1840, Van Buren signed the act, and, with his signature, the Democrats rejoiced that the contest of eleven years was over.

But the issue had not been settled, it had only been postponed. On the wild cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too," and "Down with Van Burenism," the Whigs swept into office in the election of 1840. Harrison's administration was too brief to deal with the currency problem, but when Congress assembled on

the last day of May, 1841, pursuant to a proclamation which had been issued by Harrison, the followers of the national bank determined to repeal the Sub-Treasury bill. Notwithstanding the fact that the plan had worked—whether because of its merits or on account of favorable circumstances—is undetermined. Clay immediately introduced a bill to repeal the law. On August 13, 1841, Van Buren's scheme was abandoned,<sup>19</sup> and then began a long struggle between the Whigs and Tyler over a national bank, which resulted in the reading of Tyler out of the party.

The return of the Democrats to power in 1844 naturally revived the latent interest in the subject. President Polk in his first annual message to Congress suggested the establishment of a "constitutional" treasury, which, he claimed, should be "a secure depository for the public money, without any power to make loans or discounts or to issue any paper whatsoever as a currency or consideration" and "independent of all banking operations."<sup>20</sup> Again the subject was discussed in full. The union of the Government and the banks was declared unconstitutional by the supporters of the proposal. The advocates of the banks replied that the public moneys would be safer in private institutions, would allow for easier and more inexpensive collection of the Government funds, and would permit of greater facility in obtaining loans. But this time public opinion was more favorable to the measure, and on April 2, 1846, the bill passed the House by a vote of 123 to 67; on August 1st, the Senate, by a strict party vote of 28 to 24, passed the bill, and on August 6th it was signed by the President.<sup>21</sup> The final divorce of state and bank was consummated.

The act which established the Sub-Treasury system placed the central office at Washington and provided for offices in Philadelphia, New York, New Orleans, Boston, Charleston and St. Louis. Of these six Sub-Treasuries, five have been retained to the present day. "The one at Charleston has been discontinued, while four others—Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati and San Francisco—have been added." The law required the Independent Treasury "to receive all moneys due the United States, to keep them safely, and to pay them out promptly when ordered by the proper department or office of the Government; to perform all duties as fiscal agents of the Government, and to pay pensions." It also contained the famous specie clause, "which required the payment of public dues and disbursements in gold or silver coin or Treasury notes alone."<sup>22</sup>

Since its establishment in 1846, the history of the Sub-Treasury has fallen into three distinct periods. For the first fifteen years of its history, the "divorce of bank and state" was nearly complete. During the Mexican War the Sub-Treasury system worked well and managed government finances far more satisfactorily than finances were managed in the War of 1812. In 1857 came a panic, and, although the banks failed and caused the Government great embarrassment, still the Government had its money in its own hands and was able to pay its debts without



trouble or delay. The success of this achievement caused Congress to amend the law in 1857 so as "to require all disbursing officers to discontinue the use of banks for the deposit of public moneys in their charge and to deposit in some Sub-Treasury."<sup>23</sup>

With the beginning of the Civil War the system entered upon its second period of development. The necessities of the war forced Chase to apply to the banks for a loan of \$50,000,000 in July of 1861. This was the first step leading to the decline of the Sub-Treasury. Between August 19 and November 19, 1861, the Secretary borrowed \$140,000,000 from the banks. During the next two years the Government was frequently forced to call upon the banks for aid, and in 1863 the national banking system was established. This was a serious departure from independence in two substantial ways, for the Government could now employ banks as financial agents, and the notes issued by the banks were to be received at par in all payments "outside of customs and interest on the public debt, to and from the Government."<sup>24</sup>

From the Civil War on the trend has been to a closer and closer coöperation with the banks. It was to the latter that the Government turned in order to resume specie payments in 1879. The New York banks alone held about \$40,000,000 in inconvertible paper. They held this back and did not present it for redemption. Furthermore, the banks cleared their balances with the Sub-Treasury in legal tender notes. The success of resumption demonstrated the efficient aid rendered by the banks. Again in 1885 the Treasury, involved in difficulty through the reduction of its gold reserve, had to rely on the banks to extricate it. In March the New York clearing house agreed to receive silver certificates in part payment of Government balances due it. In July the banks in New York agreed to exchange gold for subsidiary silver to the amount of \$20,000,000. Between 1888 and 1903 the deposits of the Government in the national banks fluctuated between \$20,000,000 and \$110,000,000. In 1907, Congress amended the depository section of the national bank law and permitted the banks to receive custom duties as deposits, thereby practically removing the last provision for the compulsory independence of the Treasury.<sup>25</sup> As it became more and more apparent that the withdrawal of large amounts of money into the coffers of the Treasury and their sudden disbursements disturbed business, Congress determined to reorganize the whole banking system. As a result the Federal Reserve Act was passed. With its enactment, the Sub-Treasury entered upon the last stage of its history.

The Federal Reserve Law was enacted December 23, 1913, and among the provisions was the statement that "the moneys held in the general fund of the Treasury . . . upon the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury be deposited in the Federal Reserve banks, which banks, when required by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall act as fiscal agents of the United States." At the following session of Congress the advisability of discontinuing the Independ-

ent Treasury arose for discussion. Although the framers of the Reserve Act later acknowledged that it contemplated the ultimate abolition of the latter system,<sup>26</sup> both the supporters of the Federal Reserve Banks and the officials of the Treasury Department cautioned against too precipitate action. Therefore, an amendment to the Legislative Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill to eliminate the Independent Treasury was rejected after a brief debate by a vote of 13 to 32. In 1916, however, the committee in charge of the appropriations incorporated in the legislative bill a section authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury "to report to Congress at the beginning of its next session which of the Sub-Treasuries, if any, should be continued after the end of the fiscal year 1917." In the opinion of certain members of the committee, some of the Sub-Treasuries could be immediately abolished "without doing any harm to the governmental service, particularly that at Baltimore, where the work could be taken over by the Treasury at Washington."<sup>27</sup> The mention of Baltimore naturally rallied the Maryland representatives to the support of the institution, especially as Baltimore was still smarting under the loss of the Federal Reserve Bank which had gone to Richmond. For forty-six years Baltimore had had a Sub-Treasury, and now as she was forging ahead as never before, "when the Bethlehem Steel Company was about to enlarge and increase its plant at an expenditure of fifty millions, and at Curtis Bay new plants were expending twenty-five millions, it was humiliating to deprive her of a Sub-Treasury. The Independent Treasury was necessary for the receipt of the custom duties, and in the period between December 1, 1915, and November 30, 1916, it had done a business of over \$227,000,000." An attack on the Baltimore Sub-Treasury would inevitably be followed by a general assault on the whole system, and, therefore, Moore of Pennsylvania called upon the representatives of the several districts to defend the rights of their constituents.<sup>28</sup> The call was answered by Allen of the Cincinnati district, who on December 15, 1916, in a very able speech, pointed out that the cost of the Sub-Treasury at Cincinnati was only \$25,000, while its discontinuance would be a distinct loss to the entire Ohio valley.<sup>29</sup>

But the real defense of the Sub-Treasury came in the long-expected report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The cost of maintaining the nine Sub-Treasuries was \$535,004.63; their total transactions, \$4,525,063,111.82. Thus, the cost of these institutions, treating the system as a whole, declared the Secretary, was only one-hundredth of 1 per cent. on the total transactions involved, "an insignificant sum compared with the business done, the important service rendered and the conveniences afforded to the public." "It was suggested," continued Mr. McAdoo, "that the Sub-Treasuries are merely conveniences and not necessities, and that their duties might be performed entirely by the Treasury at Washington. This is in a sense true, but the cost of handling all the business from a common center, in a country so extensive as the United States, might be greater than

the expense of the Sub-Treasury system; whereas, the delays and inconveniences which the public would have to suffer might prove a very serious handicap upon business." Moreover, the Federal Reserve Act did not expressly, or by implication, contemplate the substitution of the Federal Reserve Banks for the Sub-Treasury; and, in the opinion of Mr. McAdoo, such a substitution was neither possible nor advisable. While the general or current fund of the Treasury might in the discretion of the Secretary be deposited in the Federal Reserve Banks, the reserve or trust funds of the Government, viz., gold coin and bullion and silver dollars held in trust by the Government against outstanding gold and silver certificates and greenbacks were not included. The gold coin and bullion held against gold certificates now amounted to more than two billion dollars, and a considerable part of this was deposited in the Sub-Treasuries. This, in the opinion of the Secretary, should not be committed to the custody of the Federal Reserve Banks, as they were private corporations, but "should be in the physical control of the Government itself." "These trust funds could not be imposed upon the Federal Reserve Banks without legislation. It could only be accomplished by negotiation and agreement, involving, necessarily, compensation for the service rendered." Moreover, if these funds were transferred to the Federal Reserve Banks or to any other private corporation, it would be necessary to make a special deposit of such funds in vaults especially constructed for the purpose and to maintain a Federal guard or some form of adequate Government control over such vaults.

Aside from the custody of the trust funds of the Government, the Sub-Treasuries performed a highly useful service to the public in "making exchange of money, supplying money and coin where needed, and reducing the cost and expense of shipments of money and coin from a common center. . . . Even if these particular functions could be transferred to the Federal Reserve Banks . . . the services rendered by the substituted agencies would have to be compensated for." In the opinion of McAdoo, it was inadvisable at this time to abolish all or any of the Sub-Treasuries."<sup>30</sup>

The effect of this report was felt in both the House and Senate. In the former, Glass of Virginia reiterated the Secretary's advice,<sup>31</sup> and, in the latter, Hitchcock and Reed joined hands to support the administration.<sup>32</sup> The result was that Congress passed the appropriation in 1917 providing for the maintenance of the Sub-Treasuries.<sup>33</sup>

The reason why the opponents of the Sub-Treasuries had failed to score in the struggle of 1917 was due to the lack of sufficient data to prove their contentions. True, Senator Nelson of Minnesota had demonstrated fairly well the added expense of continuing the Sub-Treasury along with the Federal Reserve Banks, and others had intimated that it was the power of "office holding" which explained the fervor of the advocates of the Sub-Treasury. The latter charge seemed to annoy Senators Lewis and Pomerene, for both answered with rather sharp re-

plies.<sup>34</sup> But beyond this skirmish the debate in both houses was dull and uninteresting.

However, on January 26, 1918, the Bureau of Efficiency submitted a report on the work performed by the Sub-Treasuries, which the Bureau had been required to make by the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation act of 1917, and to the opponents of the system this report furnished the long-desired information. The Bureau recommended that all of the nine Sub-Treasuries be abolished within six months after the end of the war. It estimated that the direct annual saving to the Government would be \$450,000, which it presented as a conservative figure. The report covered in detail every function of the Sub-Treasury, including the custody of the Treasury funds, the maintenance of coin exchanges, fiscal transactions and the redemption of paper currency. As regards the first duty the Bureau advocated the retention of the trust funds by the Treasurer in the mints and assay offices, the coin exchanges by the Federal Reserve Banks, and the redemption of paper currency by the Redemption Department at Washington at a saving of \$125,000 a year to the Government. To the Bureau, each of the duties and functions of the Sub-Treasuries could be handled with the same or greater effectiveness by the Federal Reserve Banks, the Treasury at Washington, the mints or other Government agencies.<sup>35</sup>

This report sounded the ultimate death-knell of the Sub-Treasury system. In the session of 1918 the statement was ridiculed as being the report of the "Hazard-a-Guess" Bureau, rather than an Efficiency Bureau, while the Treasury Department once more came to the aid of the Sub-Treasury. Assistant Secretary R. C. Leffingwell asserted that the Department was not ready to recommend the destruction of the Sub-Treasury, that due to the condition of the world's affairs the Sub-Treasuries were performing more work than in recent years, that no country in the world turned over the functions of the Treasury to semi-private banks as would be the case if the Federal Reserve Banks handled the trust funds of the Government, that these banks would necessarily and rightfully expect to be reimbursed for their additional expense, and that the suggestion of the Bureau now to abolish the Sub-Treasuries six months after the war was one which seemed to be contrary to all conceivable theories of efficiency.<sup>36</sup> But the House refused to take seriously these objections, and on March 8, 1918, voted to abolish the Sub-Treasuries. The Senate, however, restored the Sub-Treasuries to the bill, perhaps, due to the pressure exerted by those interested in the patronage angle of the argument.<sup>37</sup> In 1919, the Bureau again advised their extermination,<sup>38</sup> and now, with the close of the war, the prestige acquired by the Federal Reserve system and the rise of reconstruction problems that overshadowed all others the fight was quickly brought to a close. On February 25, 1920, the Committee on Banking and Currency reported such a bill to the House, and on the 17th of May the bill passed the House and on the 19th the Senate. On the 24th the President signed the measure authorizing the Secre-



tary of the Treasury "to transfer any or all of the functions performed [by the Sub-Treasuries after July 1, 1921] to the Treasurer of the United States or the mints or assay offices of the United States . . . or to utilize any of the Federal Reserve Banks acting as depositories or fiscal agents of the United States."<sup>29</sup>

So closes the long, troublesome career of the Sub-Treasury. Out of the party strife and needs of the nation it arose in the Jacksonian era, for party reasons and a belief that the nation required it; the system was maintained for fifty years, and for economic reasons and a feeling that the Sub-Treasury was no longer necessary it has ceased to exist.

<sup>1</sup> Brockenbrough to Van Buren, May 22, 1837. Van Buren MSS. in the Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Rives to Van Buren, June 3, 1837; Wright to Van Buren, June 4, 1837. Van Buren MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Blair to Jackson, Oct. 1, 1837, Jackson MSS. in the Library of Congress. For an excellent analysis of Calhoun's motives and actions at this period consult Cole, A. C., *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), pp. 46-49.

<sup>4</sup> McGrane, R. C. (editor), *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle* (Boston, 1919), p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> The vote in the Senate showed the strength of the administration. The bill passed by a strict administration vote, with but one Whig voting for its passage—Niles of Connecticut.

<sup>6</sup> The vote resulted in 93 Whigs, 21 Van Buren men and 5 with no party designations voting in favor of tabling the bill. Cf. comments on final vote in the *Globe*, Oct. 14, 1837; *Niles Register*, Oct. 21, 1837; *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 21, 1837; *Buchanan to Jackson*, Oct. 26, 1837. Jackson MSS.

<sup>7</sup> Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. III, p. 382.

<sup>8</sup> McGrane, op. cit., pp. 299, 300, 302-304. The story is told in full in the Biddle papers deposited in the Library of Congress. The most significant ones are cited in the above-mentioned text.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Benton, T. H., *Thirty Years' View* (N. Y., 1854), Vol. II, p. 124, on Calhoun's vote. The vote at this session, like the former ballot, was a strict administration vote—only one Whig (Niles of Connecticut) voting in favor of the measure.

<sup>10</sup> McGrane, op. cit., pp. 305-307.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304. "Perhaps we may prove to some of our Pennsylvania members that their course is injurious to the state and to themselves," wrote Biddle to Sergeant.

<sup>12</sup> Those voting to negative the bill were 100 Whigs, 18 Democrats, and 7 of no political party designations.

<sup>13</sup> McGrane, op. cit., p. 316.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318-321. Cf. letter published in full, explaining Biddle's actions during these years.

<sup>15</sup> *Globe*, May 18, 21, 1840; *Cong. Globe*, 1 Sess., Vol. VIII, App. p. 752.

<sup>16</sup> Blair to Jackson, June 17-18(?), 1840, Jackson MSS.

<sup>17</sup> Jackson to Blair, June 27, 1840, Jackson MSS.

<sup>18</sup> For the Whig explanations of the result cf. excellent description in McMaster, J. B., *Hist. of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 548.

<sup>19</sup> Kinley, David, *The Independent Treasury* (Wash., 1910), pp. 41-46.

<sup>20</sup> Richardson, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 408.

<sup>21</sup> Kinley, op. cit., pp. 46-52. Since Prof. Kinley has related in detail the next section in the history of the Sub-Treasury, the author has minimized this phase of the story.

<sup>22</sup> Report of the United States Bureau of Efficiency covering the work performed by the Sub-Treasuries, submitted Jan. 26, 1918, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

<sup>26</sup> *Cong. Record*, Vol. 54, Pt. I, 64th Cong., 2 Sess., p. 401.

<sup>27</sup> *Cong. Record*, Vol. 53, Pt. 4, 64th Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3450, 3492.

<sup>28</sup> *Cong. Record*, Vol. 54, Pt. I, 64th Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 348-351. When one of the members (Sisson of Mississippi) made a motion to abolish the Sub-Treasuries, Boston accused him of doing this when the members from the Sub-Treasury districts were absent.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391-393.

<sup>30</sup> The duties of Sub-Treasuries are:

1. Issue of gold order certificates on gold deposits.
2. Acceptance of gold coins for exchange.
3. Acceptance of standard silver dollars for exchange.
4. Acceptance of fractional silver for redemption.
5. Acceptance of minor coins for redemption.
6. Acceptance of United States notes for redemption.
7. Acceptance of Treasury notes for redemption.
8. Acceptance of gold and silver certificates for redemption.
9. Cancellation (before shipment to Washington) of unfit currency.
10. Laundering of unfit currency which permits of this process.
11. Exchange of various kinds of money for other kinds that may be requested.
12. Remittances for U. S. depository banks of their surplus of internal revenue, customs, money-order postal, and similar funds.
13. Deposits of postal-savings funds direct.
14. Deposits of money-order funds direct and indirect.
15. Deposits of postoffice funds direct and indirect.
16. Deposits of account of 5 per cent. redemption fund.
17. Deposits of interest on public deposits.
18. Deposits of funds belonging to disbursing officers.
19. Funds deposited for transfer to some other point through a payment of the U. S. and presented at the Sub-Treasury for payment.
20. Encashment of checks, warrants and drafts drawn against the Treasurer of the U. S. and presented at the Sub-Treasury for payment.
21. The payment of U. S. coupons and interest checks.

In addition to the foregoing the Sub-Treasuries have the custody of a large part of the reserve and trust funds, consisting of the gold and bullion and silver dollars deposited to secure gold and silver certificates and greenbacks. *Cong. Record*, Vol. 54, Pt. 2, 64th Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1471.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 401.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1470, 1471, 1961, 1962.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2038, 2039. Vote on amendment to bill to abolish was 15 ayes; 45 nays; 36 not voting. It was not a strict party vote.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2038. Senator Lewis declared: "There are eleven officers in the Sub-Treasuries who have been appointed by the Democratic administration, but there are 153 others connected with the Sub-Treasuries by preceding Republican administrations who will suffer if the mere question of politics is to be considered, being wholly Republican." Senator Pomerene stated that the "office force of the Sub-Treasury in Cincinnati consists of the Assistant Treasurer and 16 subordinates. The Assistant Treasurer is a Democrat; the 16 subordinates are all Republicans; and I dare say that those 16 subordinates (Republicans) are safer under a Democratic chief than 16 Democrats under a Republican chief." Thus was party politics injected into a financial discussion.

<sup>35</sup> Report of the Bureau of Efficiency, passim.

<sup>36</sup> *Cong. Record*, Vol. 56, Pt. 4, 64th Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 3267, 3268.

<sup>37</sup> Report of the Bureau of Efficiency, 1919, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> "Provided, That if any moneys or bullion, constituting part of the trust funds or other special funds heretofore required by law to be kept in the Treasury offices shall be

deposited with any Federal Reserve Bank, then such moneys or bullion shall by such bank be kept separate or distinct from the assets, funds, and securities of the Federal Reserve Bank and be held in joint custody of the Federal Reserve agent and the Federal Reserve Bank. Provided further, that nothing in this section shall be construed to deny the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to use member banks as depositories as heretofore authorized by law. . . . All employees in the Sub-Treasuries in the classified civil list of the United States, who may desire, shall be eligible for transfer to classified civil service positions under the control of the Treasury Department" [and the same were to be given preference in the selection of candidates for openings]. Statutes of the United States, 66th Congress, 2 Sess., 1919-1920, pp. 654-656.

## Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Taxation, the Tariff and Foreign Trade Relations are the "Problems of the Incoming Administration" discussed by Thomas W. Lamont in an article under that title in *Harper's* for March. In conclusion he says: "The new Republican Administration comes into office with the most overwhelming vote of confidence that the country has ever bestowed," and he sees in this the necessity of cultivating a spirit "of trust rather than distrust," "of arranging for close association for constant comparison of ideas with our friends across the sea."

In his study of The Monroe Doctrine and Pact of the League of Nations (*Cuba Contemporánea* for January) Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring shows a remarkably unsympathetic attitude towards this Doctrine, and condemns quite unsparingly the inconsistent American policy.

In discussing the "Origins of Anglo-German Discord" Elie Halévy says (*La Revue de Paris*, Feb. 1, 1921) that 1898 was the critical year when the world saw the beginning of the struggle for great power, one manifestation being the Spanish-American War. In his article, M. Halévy also discusses the passing of political isolation and the effect of Queen Victoria's death on Anglo-German affairs. After 1904, he says, there was "no stopping the mad rush toward the turmoil of 1914."

Although the article in the *National Review* for March on "Irish Parliamentary Government, The World's First Sample," by James Edmond, deals with Australian affairs, the author says in conclusion:

"One theory is that these men [the Irish] are engaged in a heroic effort to get square at the first available opportunity and at the expense of the first available people, for seven hundred years of oppression. Another is that the Celtic Irishman wasn't built for Parliamentary institutions . . . that he is by nature rather a predatory tribesman, and can't be other than the good God made him. Either way, Australia . . . grows weary of the Irish connection which seems to have no compensating advantages. The verdict is that the Irishman is splendidly fit to govern himself as well as he deserves, but that he is no more fitted to govern people of English or Scottish descent than they are to govern him. A divorce is called for—not a judicial separation, but a divorce."

Three brief but quite notable biographical sketches are those by Theodore Von Sosenosky, appearing in *The Quarterly Review* for January, 1921, entitled "The Last of the Hapsburgs," in which the author discusses the Emperor

Francis Joseph, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and the Emperor Carl.

"The Indians of British Columbia, and the Six Nations tribes more particularly, have for some time been showing symptoms of unrest. . . . Our Indians are not in the slightest degree in a rebellious mood, and not one of them has a thought of going on the war path. . . . The loyalty of the Indians was best attested by their conduct in the late war, when, exempted as they are from military service, large numbers enlisted and fought nobly at the front," says R. E. Cosnell, in the first of three articles now appearing in *The Canadian Magazine* for March, and entitled "Indians and Indian Affairs in Canada."

A very interesting life of St. Patrick by Seumas MacManus is published in *The Catholic World* for March. In estimating the value of the good saint's achievements for Ireland, the author says that St. Patrick is "One of the greatest, perhaps the greatest that Ireland ever knew or will ever know, still more, one of the dominant personalities of world history. . . . What Confucius was to the Oriental, Moses to the Israelite, Mohammed to the Arab, Patrick was to the Gaelic race. . . . It was only a man of such terrible passion and such ineffable tenderness who could have gained, as quickly as Patrick did, complete moral ascendancy over the Irish nation—so amazingly compelling their allegiance, obedience, faith, belief and trust, as in one generation to work that wondrous change which called forth the testimony by the old poet: 'There was a demon at the butt of every grass-blade in Erin before thy advent, but at the butt of every grass-blade in Erin today, there is an angel.'"

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# Report of Committee on History and Education for Citizenship

## PART IV.

### SYLLABUS FOR MODERN HISTORY IN TENTH GRADE.

PREPARED BY DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, THE LINCOLN SCHOOL OF TEACHERS COLLEGE

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Acknowledgments are hereby made to the following persons who have read the manuscript and have offered many suggestions and criticisms, some of which the author has incorporated in the report: Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, Professor H. D. Foster of Dartmouth College, Professor W. E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Sullivan, State Historian of New York.

#### PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TENTH-YEAR UNIT

##### Three Possible Alternatives

It would seem on first thought that in organizing the work for the tenth year, the committee have the choice of one of three alternatives: either (1) to submit a block of work for that particular year without very much regard for what has been done before or what may follow later; or (2) to plan the year with the four years of the high school curriculum in mind; or (3) finally, to plan a unit which shall form an integral part of a XII-year program constituting still another step in the development of a "course in history." A more careful examination, however, of the principles set forth in their preliminary report will soon convince one of the impossibility of certain of these alternatives; and will also make clear the difficulty of compromising as between them. On the other hand, the committee feels that every facility should be afforded the schools for making the adoption of any program proposed, as easy as possible.

##### Idea of a Course in History

There are certain elements in the tentative program set forth eighteen months ago which have commended it to those who have given the situation any serious thought or study. One of these is the idea of developing a course in history throughout the twelve years of the school life of the child. In many school systems this will for some years represent an ideal to be striven towards, as local conditions will preclude the many radical, thoroughgoing changes involved in the inauguration of such a program. The time, however, seems ripe for taking the initial steps toward this goal and the country is apparently ready for it; but it must be accompanied by as little disorganization and upheaval as possible.

##### The Four-Year High School and Its Relation to the Reorganization Problem

When this committee was organized its principal task appeared to be that of reorganizing the content of the four years of the four-year high school and this, the first objective of the committee, cannot be overlooked in any proposals which it submits. Many of the schools of

the country are ready and anxious to make a change here where changes below must needs wait upon more favoring conditions. The task, therefore, confronting the committee in its plans for these upper grades differs somewhat from that which it faces with reference to Grades I-VIII. Even here, with the strong current which has set in with regard to the junior high school, and the apparent necessity of beginning the secondary stage of instruction earlier, the committee face a peculiar and a difficult situation.

##### Attitude of Committee Toward Citizenship Training

Again, no committee has been more desirous of evolving a course which shall really minister to the needs of boys and girls, being willing if need be to see their own subject sacrificed, if by so doing the demands of citizenship training will be more satisfactorily realized. They feel that whatever history is taught must minister in a very real and effective way to this end, and that the claims of the specialist must give way before it. They are not only thinking in terms of minimum essentials, but are anxious to harmonize their own wishes and desires with those of other specialists in related fields whose claims must be recognized if the goal is to be that of a better citizenship.

##### Relation of These Proposals to Principles Already Enunciated by Committee

It seems necessary to restate these points in order that there may be a better appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals are submitted. They must be and are intended to be in harmony with the principles which the committee set forth early in their work. These principles have seemed to meet everywhere with a most hearty endorsement, and it is now rather late to abandon them for a new *modus operandi*. It is then in the light of these principles that the present proposals must be judged, bearing in mind throughout that they must be given a practical application; that the theory must be worked out in the practice. The committee's work will be very much facilitated if those interested in the proposed changes will point out wherein these principles have apparently been neglected or abandoned in the actual working program submitted to the schools for their adoption.

##### Two Alternatives Proposed for Tenth Year:

###### The First of These

In their proposed scheme then, for the Xth Grade the committee suggests two alternatives, both harmonizing with the general principles set forth that "every new step in history instruction should be a step forward in the subject." The first is designed to fit in with a XII-year scheme, and assumes the incorporation in the curriculum of the survey proposed for Grades VII-VIII, or its equivalent. This has been designated as American history in its world setting, but, as given a more specific interpreta-

tion by Professor Johnson, is a world survey with our own country assigned its place in the general world order. Again this first alternative assumes that the scope of the work in Grades X-XII is narrowed to a consideration of the modern world noting especially its progress toward democracy; the European background being presented in Grade X, and the American aspect of democracy in Grade XI, concentrating, if time permits, in the XIIth grade, upon some of the problems which are the outgrowth of modern development.

#### This Unit as Part of a Course in History

In planning these steps the committee have not only had in mind their special subject, history, but the claims of related fields, as for example, those of economics, political science and sociology. The work of these first two grades X and XI are to constitute a minimum requirement in *history* for all graduates of the four-year high school. They must be thought of as minimum requirements in history and in history as defined by those who are the best qualified to define it; namely, the historians themselves. History may be made to serve a variety of purposes, but it can only be organized into a "course in history" on the basis of an accepted definition. This should be formulated by its own students. No better working statement of its aims has been placed before the country than that found in the preliminary report of the committee. This we have, not so much on the authority of the specialists themselves, as on the testimony of these interested in the formulation of school curricula. The committee cannot regard the work of these two minimal years as of a compromise character, seeking to harmonize fields as diverse, for example, as those of history and of sociology. One or the other must yield and the test of which it shall be, is the result desired. It is not a question of organizing a so-called course in *history* so that it may attain a series of objectives, all of them highly desirable, but many of them having little to do with history *per se*. If a *course in history* is desirable and there are to be two years given to it, or two added steps to be taken in these upper years to attain this goal, they must be taken essentially in the field of *history*; otherwise they are entirely out of harmony with the general plan of a course in history.

#### Relation to Other Social Studies

The special problem all along confronting this committee of students of history has been, not to plan hybrid courses or units, but to harmonize the conflicting claims of the social studies and to give each the time and place to which it lays claim because of its inherent power to educate for citizenship. There are possibly points in the XII years where a combination of materials may minister to citizenship requirements as in Grades IX and XII, but their possibilities of educating children rest as much upon preparatory work in the separate fields of history and in civics as it does upon the combination itself. Let us not deceive ourselves that it is simply a question in a given year of a little of this and a little of that; the resultant compound may not yield us much of anything.

#### Second Alternative for the Four-Year High School

What has been said thus far may appear to be in the nature of a digression. The digression is more apparent, however, than real, as the statement of this first alternative carries with it naturally these other very vital considerations. The second of these alternatives offered to the

schools is designed to fit the curriculum of the four-year high school. It is also adaptable to curricula where each year is treated more or less as an independent unit. The principal difference between these proposals is that, in the case of the latter, three to four weeks (not more), are set aside for a preliminary survey of world progress to about the 18th century. This is to serve as a background and a basis for the more intensive study of modern times. This, of course, involves a sacrifice of time which might perhaps with greater profit be devoted to the later history. On the other hand, it will serve to place the student in contact with some of these earlier developments without which it may prove a more difficult task to make clear for him the main streams of contemporary progress.

To recapitulate the following alternatives are offered in this report, each involving a year's work:

#### Plan No. 1

Based on the 12-year program proposed by the committee or at least that portion which covers Grades VII-XII:—

No introductory survey. Work to begin with topic, Rise of Autocratic Governments and Their Predominance in the Early 18th Century.

#### Plan No. 2

Based on partial adoption of the 12-year program and designed especially for the four-year high school, or for school systems which find it impossible to provide for more than a year or two of history:—

Introductory world survey as outlined on p. 16ff, to be followed by the topics as organized on pp. 11-13.

#### Growth of Democracy "the Interpretative Idea"

In accordance with the principle accepted by the committee that greater stress must be placed upon significant interpretative ideas in the organization of a history program, the work of this year represents an effort to present the story of how democracy has come to be such a potent factor in the modern world. This is essentially in line with citizenship requirements. Professor Headlam expresses it aptly when he says: "From the point of view of citizenship, history grows in importance as it approaches the confines of the present day." The Great War has helped to clarify the situation as to one of the fundamental needs of our citizenship and one of the most prominent of these is a better concept of the democracy of which so much has been said and written. It was to make the world safe for democracy that we entered the great struggle across the water, and it is to make democracy safe for the world and to preserve that for which we have struggled that we now labor, not alone in this country, but throughout the world. On the other hand, true to the concept of studying history for its own sake—so clearly set forth by Professor Johnson—this interpretative idea has not been selected on the basis of the present interest of mankind in democratic development, but primarily as the result of an examination of modern development to determine what has really mattered to the people of the last century and a half. The Great War served to throw this line of development into bolder relief. Our problem then is to trace the evolution of this new and essentially modern idea of democracy from the point where it begins to be a potent factor in shaping human progress on to our own day. This struggle on the part of the individual to shape the world in his own interests is peculiarly character-

istic of modern times. It is then a rather limited, restricted view of world development that claims our attention in this year, and it is therefore possible to exclude a great many of the details which would ordinarily figure in a course in modern history. Democracy is not conceived in the narrow sense of a political relationship, but includes every effort on the part of the individual to shape his political, social and economic environment in his own interest as contrasted with those of some class or individual. The struggle is not simply for the attainment of political rights, which, important as they are, do not necessarily bring with them that satisfaction and happiness which are the main goal of human existence. Many other things that contribute to the happiness of mankind are involved in the struggle. It is hoped that the relation between this idea and the subject matter involved has been made so clear that no teacher will run through the world from the 17th century down hunting for autocrats to denounce."

#### Relation of the Unit to Universal or General History

The purpose served by such a course should not be confused with the idea behind Mr. Wells' article which appeared a few years ago and bore the rather significant title, "History is One." This he has since amplified in his recent *Outline of Universal History*. Mr. Wells expresses in the introduction to his *Outline*, the idea that there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas and that "the true binding culture of men is inconceivable" without some sort of a common cosmogony and world history as a basis. The committee disclaim any thought in the proposals for this year of trying to inculcate *à la Wells* a notion of the universe and man's relation to it, which as one of his admirers puts it, may serve as a substitute for religion or as a religion itself. This might well be the task of the entire secondary school period. It certainly calls for and may well tax the resources of a host of scholars working in as many fields, as Mr. Wells' two volumes amply testify. To this extent only is the effort made to establish this "common basis for mankind everywhere," that the single idea of democracy or of a democracy of opportunity as it has found expression since the days of the French Revolution becomes the burden of the thinking and the central theme of this, the second year of the four-year high school course, to be followed by its more specific application to conditions in America in the work of the XIth or XIIth years. We venture the prediction that concentration upon this objective is more likely to bring such results as may be in the mind of a Wells with boys and girls of 15-16 than the other more ambitious objective, even though two years, instead of one be devoted to the task.

#### Relation to Sociology

If this Xth-year unit is to be a part of a course in history and an integral portion of such a course it must confine itself rigidly to the task in hand, viz., that of unfolding step by step the progress of man towards this particular 20th century goal. It will fail perhaps to lay those broad foundations in the field of sociology which may be conceived by some as desirable objectives, but these seem to represent a more mature and a more advanced philosophy of life. The course in history planned for the committee for the whole school life of the child will have failed as a course if before the Xth grade is reached there has not already been established a respect

for the past and its inheritance as the result of contacts with the great and dramatic movements which have swept the world from the earliest time. Let it not be forgotten that the committee is limiting itself to a small number of required as against a larger number of desirable history units.

#### INTRODUCTORY WORLD SURVEY

##### The Ancient World as a Series of Pictures

To satisfy the demand for some contact with the remote past where schools are unwilling to adopt the more inclusive program, it is planned to present a series of pictures visualizing as far as possible the chief stages of man's progress. The first of these would be a picture of that cradle of civilization, the Orient, where, confined within the narrow limits of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates the foundations were laid upon which later generations were to build. The next picture would be that of the Greek world, as it gradually made the circuit of the Mediterranean with its culture and penetrated even to the borders of India. These glimpses—and they are little more, of the world of the ancients naturally close with imperial Rome in all her majesty welding together for four centuries and more, by her marvelous system, the lands and peoples of the Mediterranean basin until the cultures of the East and West became merged in one.

##### Treatment of Later History

From this point on to the early 18th century it may prove somewhat more difficult to leave with the student such clear-cut pictures of the past as are characteristic of these earlier centuries. Opportunity should be afforded for a brief survey of the medieval world and its two great institutions, the church and feudalism, noting their influence upon the life of the times. Out of this feudal background gradually emerge the two great states, France and England, clear indications of the rising power of nationality. These evidences of a new order are due, in no small measure, to that new world of commerce and industry which begins to shape itself before our eyes in the period following the Crusades. Any view of these epoch-making changes would be incomplete without calling attention to the gradual extension of the field of Western progress as the result of the trading and commercial enterprises which mark the 16th and 17th centuries, but at this point this introductory survey becomes merged with the topics which have been arranged for the unit as it forms a part of the more comprehensive XII-year program. Such a preliminary survey as has been suggested would also be incomplete without sketching a picture of the Protestant and Catholic world in the period between the advent of Luther and the close of that long series of politico-religious struggles which terminated with the Thirty Years' War.

##### Object of Such a Survey

Such an introduction must of necessity be open to the charge of superficiality. Its main purpose at best can only be to orientate the student and make him realize the long span that separates these later centuries from the earlier stages of man's progress. Opportunities will be afforded from time to time of establishing more vital contacts with this past, e. g., in developing a background for the French Revolution or for the Industrial Revolution. Throughout the survey the object of the course should



be constantly kept in mind and the subject matter can best be presented through the constant use of concrete material, such as maps and pictures.

#### TIME LIMITS OF THE UNIT

It has already been noted, perhaps, that the committee are not interested in stressing a definite date to mark the real beginning of these developments. Students of the 16th and 17th centuries are soon made aware of the gradual merging of the old with the new. Something of this feeling must be inculcated at the beginning of this course. Courses in modern history have been introduced in various states in which the opening date ranges all the way from 1492 to 1730. It is hoped that this unit has been planned with sufficient elasticity to assist materially in standardizing these courses. It is felt that the limits of such a one-year course should be fixed rather in terms of ideas or developments than by precise time limits.

#### The Chronological Order of Treatment

It may appear that considerable emphasis has been placed in this particular scheme of organization upon so-called chronological history to which some people seem to take exception. (We should rather prefer the phrase sequential history.) Some people seem to look upon it as a misfortune that the time element has so much to do with the shaping of history. It is always an element to be reckoned with, and it cannot be reckoned with successfully by the hop, skip and jump method. Students must be able to relate events in time as well as in other connections, and if they fail to relate them in time, somehow or other the result loses much of its value; it even ceases, in many cases, to be history at all. The experience of the classroom seems to show that other things being equal, the more closely the time thread is followed the easier it becomes for the student to grasp the significance of what is presented. This does not mean that these topics must be presented in the precise order in which they have been submitted by the committee; it is not even necessary that the teacher adhere to the order within these analyses. On the other hand, the material has been organized with an eye single to the demands of the subject matter as history and the easiest method of handling the material from the teaching standpoint.

#### Attitude Towards Other Nations

It is believed that the organization proposed here will also serve the very desirable purpose of stressing the contributions of particular nations to modern progress, especially as it relates itself to the world struggle towards a common democratic goal. The same sympathetic attitude toward nations and nationalities should result from the teaching of this unit as it is organized, as is sought after where the organization radically differs from that which has been proposed. There is a better prospect of furthering that much-needed tolerant and broad-minded attitude towards nations other than our own, if the attention of these young folk is concentrated upon an aspect of modern development in which we are all keenly interested. If properly handled, such a course will do much to counteract the attitude that every good thing had its origin in these United States; that it has been our destiny from time to time to set the world right, as in the recent war, and that outside of these deviations from our orbit it has been given us to play an independent God-given role among the nations of the earth.

#### Standardizing the Unit

In order that the unit may be more clearly defined or standardized—and we believe the time has come for a persistent effort in this direction (which should be controlled by those who are specialists in the field and not be allowed to pass into the hands of those who may make it serve propaganda purposes)—the committee had planned to submit a minimum library equipment for the teacher and a minimum list of books or reading selections for the use of the pupil, indicating where it seemed desirable, books which were equally useful, but were in a sense duplicate treatments, working out also a classroom equipment of maps, charts, pictures, etc., within the reach of the smaller schools.\* This would mean that the presentation of such a unit in any part of the country would involve the use of at least some apparatus and the adoption of a minimum technique to accompany the presentation of the subject matter in the classroom. Such recommendations must have stood the test of the classroom and represent the best judgment of those actually at work in the field. It is conceivable that additions will be made from time to time to these minimal requirements as contributions are made to equipment, organization of materials, and methodology: If the teaching of the country is to be improved, it will be improved largely as the result of contributions of this character from this Association maintaining a live working committee from year to year with this as one of its principal objectives. If this work is not performed by experts, under expert guidance, it will be performed by others less capable of performing the task. The pressure now upon the curriculum from every angle is such that this is one of the most promising solutions of good teaching in individual subjects and will go far towards saving the curriculum as a whole.

#### Relative Importance of the Two Proposals

The following report for the Xth year then assumes that there will be schools desirous of adopting the course in modern history as a single unit with very little regard to its relation to a comprehensive course in history. Although the committee does not recommend such a breaking up of their proposals into separate courses, they so strongly feel the desirability of every high school student having some knowledge of the modern world that they have attempted to outline a brief introduction to the story of the democratic development of the last two hundred years. This should be presented in such a way as to leave with the student some feeling for the great movements which have changed the face of history and have made present developments possible. A more sympathetic attitude toward the present should result from an appreciation of the long struggle which man has waged to attain to his present state.

#### True Starting Point of Unit

Such a preliminary survey may also be thought desirable in planning a course in history for the four-year high school, especially if the committee's recommendations be followed for Grades IX, XI and XII. The true starting point of the course, however, is to be found in the contrast presented between the political and social systems prevailing on the continent in the early 18th century as

\*This objective has only been partially realized. Teachers all over the country can assist materially in work of this kind.



typified by the France of Louis XIV—one of the more progressive representatives of this order—and the more liberal and democratic arrangements which had come into existence in England. A partial background for this situation is furnished by the story of the leavening influence of trade and its part in the creation of a strong middle class which gradually comes into its own, shattering at one and the same time the fetters imposed by the medieval church and by medieval society.

#### The General Approach to the Field Under the First Alternative

Several ways of approaching this field will probably suggest themselves. One likely to bring results is that of attempting to fix, with the help of the class, the point at which modern development really begins and the criteria by which they have reached their decision. Several modern or contemporary histories might be examined in this connection, or again they might analyze their own world and select what they regarded as the "modern" elements characteristic of it. Such an analysis might be narrowly restricted to their own community, thereby establishing very real points of contact between their own environment and the immediate past which is to be their field of study. If some agreement is reached as to what special fields of man's activity best illustrate the "modern" and the "contemporary," it may be possible to establish at once points of contact with the particular parts of the world where such developments would be looked for first. It is not so much the first appearance of modern ways of doing things or of modern aspects of life with which we are concerned as that of determining when the new or modern idea begins to be significant and potent in shaping the progress of mankind.

#### OUTLINE OR GENERAL PLAN

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#### I. Rise of Autocratic Governments and Their Predominance in the Early Eighteenth Century

1. Louis XIV and the French Monarchy.
2. Peter the Great and the Russian autocratic system.
3. Age of Frederick the Great and of the enlightened despots.

#### II. 4. Growth of Trade and Expansion of Europe (1500-1715)

#### III. The Development of Representative Government in England (1603-1750) and the Founding of the British Empire

5. The development of representative government in England, 1603-1750.
6. The eighteenth century struggle for trade and colonial empire and the founding of the British Empire.

#### IV. The French Revolution and Its Political Consequences to 1815

7. The overthrow of the old order.
8. The revolution and the struggle with Europe.
9. The supremacy of Napoleon and his overthrow.

#### V. 10. The Industrial Revolution in England (End of the first semester, or half year)

#### VI. The Spread of the Economic Revolution to the Con-

#### tinents and the Struggle Against Reaction (1815-1848)

11. The beginnings of the industrial revolution on the continent and the rise of socialism.
12. Metternich and the struggle for constitutional government.

#### VII. The Growth of Nationality and Its Effects Upon Europe (1848-1871)

13. The establishment of the Second Empire and the beginnings of its influence upon Europe, 1848-1856.
14. The struggle for Italian unity.
15. The struggle for German unity and the creation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

#### VIII. The Penetration of Asia and Africa and Its Resultant Changes (1870-1914)

16. The Near Eastern question and the rise of the Balkan States.
17. The opening up of Africa.
18. Russia and the awakening of the Far East.
- IX. The Internal Struggle Between Advancing Democracy and Autocracy (1870-1914)
19. The maintenance of autocratic governments in Germany and Russia, 1870-1914.
20. The advance of democracy, 1870-1914.

#### X. Imperialism and the World War

21. The great colonial powers and their world interests.
22. German imperialism and the World War, 1914-1918.
- XI. Democracy Since the War and Its Problems (1914-)
23. The Russian revolution and the disintegration of the Russian Empire.
24. The Allies and the war.
25. Reorganization of the Central Powers.
26. Other influences of the war, 1914.

#### Time Allotment

The emphasis to be placed upon these main divisions is indicated by insisting that the work of the first half year shall end with the Congress of Vienna, and that at least the last quarter of the second half year shall be given over to the Great War and the half century immediately preceding it. On the basis of 40 weeks to the school year this would mean 20 weeks for the period to 1815, 10 weeks for the period from 1815 to 1870 and the remaining time to the period since 1870. Five periods a week is assumed throughout.

The amount of time to be given to each topic within these main divisions is not to be determined necessarily by the minuteness of the analysis, but rather on the basis of the general scheme outlined above. The problems of emphasis and of time allotment are closely related, and the teacher and student are to be governed more by the paragraphs of suggestions than by the syllabus proper in determining the amount of time which should be given to the various points in the outline. These suggestions represent an attempt to point the way as to the selection of material and emphasis. They constitute the more important part of the "definition" of the unit. In some cases a more detailed analysis has been prepared with the idea of differentiating more clearly between material that is really pertinent and that which may well be ignored altogether. This unit of work for the Xth grade is conceived as decidedly elementary in character and anything like a comprehensive treatment is precluded by the very wealth of materials at the command of the teacher. The

analyses often contain points that will appear in the classroom merely as illustrations of the larger aspects of the subject treated.

#### Order of Topics

It is recommended that the teacher try to follow the order suggested. It may often be found advisable to change not only the order of topics, but the order in which the material has been arranged within the topics. The successful presentation of this unit does not hinge upon the observance of a specific order in the treatment of events, but rather upon the use made of this material and the ideas of modern development to which it gives birth. A training in the handling of historical materials is one of the principal objectives to be kept in mind by the teacher.

#### RELATION OF THIS UNIT TO THE STUDY OF CURRENT EVENTS Organization of Newspaper and Periodical Material

The importance of tying up this contemporary history with current progress needs no elaborated argument. It is important that the teacher be clear as to just what purpose this current data is to serve and just how it is to be related to the materials covered by the various topics. This study should not be incidental at this stage, but should be so closely interwoven with the other materials that it is regarded from the outset as an integral part of the work to be covered. The effectiveness of work with newspapers and magazines will be increased if such material is organized from week to week and integrated with what the class are taking up in the textbook. This is a difficult problem. It can be solved in part by setting aside the equivalent of one day a week out of the five recitations for organizing this material, and for introducing the class to the problems which it presents. Later on this separate treatment may be dispensed with, perhaps, as the class acquire familiarity with the use and pertinency of this data.

#### Appraisal of Newspaper and Periodical Material

It is recommended that this year be given over to training in the appraisal of newspaper and magazine material with problems that call for differentiation between news items and editorials and the checking of the daily or semi-weekly newsheet against the weekly or monthly magazine with its attempts to refine and sift the materials which have been gathered day by day. The importance and the necessity of a background for a proper understanding of what is taking place can be brought out by analyzing the various allusions to the past to be found in this newspaper material and by establishing at every point contacts between this material and the past. As the work of the year deals more and more with events related closely to what is happening around us, conscious efforts should be put forth to trace what might be looked upon as "the family trees" of many of our present-day problems. If the class has already acquired the practice of setting down questions suggested by the developments of their own day which demand a knowledge of the past for a satisfactory answer, it will prove a much easier task for the teacher, as the work progresses, to point out the historical origins of many of our most vexatious problems.

#### THE PROBLEM OF TECHNIQUE

As that part of the technique which seems to call for special emphasis at this point the committee would recommend considerable attention to the analytical and syntheti-

cal processes. Attention should be drawn to relationships and the possibility of drawing inferences from these relationships. The student must be impressed with the importance of the organization of material. The selection of a rather restricted interpretative idea ought to assist materially in attaining this result. Some opportunities should be given from time to time for a comparison of some of the more important and available sources with the sources for our information of what is taking place around us, in order that the student may begin to appreciate how history is written and the relation which his textbook bears to the general field which he is covering. The Xth year would seem to be the place for stressing particularly the place and use of the textbook and training the student to utilize its contents, maps, pictures and pedagogical apparatus to the best possible advantage. It is only now and then that time and opportunity will permit of any wide range of reading or more than a passing acquaintance with a few of the standard treatises in the field. The utilization of such concrete means, as those supplied by pictures, maps, diagrams, source extracts, and the like, should be the constant aim of the teacher. An appreciation of their value in the study of history will aid mightily in later work in Grades XI-XII and in college courses.

#### INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF WORLD PROGRESS (In Accordance with Plan 2.)

The following topics should form the basis of the classroom discussion:<sup>1</sup>

1. The Oriental World.
2. The Greek World.
3. The Roman World.
4. The Medieval World and Its Institutions.
5. The Protestant and Catholic World (1520-1648).
6. The Rise of National States.

#### SUGGESTIONS

Trace by means of a series of wall maps the gradual spread of civilization from its earliest centers in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile around the Mediterranean, in an ever-widening radius. The geographical and cultural background of the long period preceding the French Revolution should be presented in such a way as to make clear to the class the fact that the early 18th century simply marked another upward swing or upward impulse toward the predominance of certain peoples and certain ideas which have exercised a greater influence upon his own world than did those of earlier centuries. Each of these topics should be handled as a picture of the progress attained in the period represented by the civilization involved. In each case the life and activities of the people should be stressed rather than the political development. If the class have already determined, in a large way, those fields of human endeavor which show most clearly the modernness of a people, attention should be drawn to these in this rather brief résumé of man's beginnings and early progress. The fields which would naturally be selected are those of government, religion, industry, commerce, science, education, and, much later still in its influence, that of international relations. It is important that the relation in time of these

<sup>1</sup>No attempt has been made to analyze these topics. The use of a textbook is suggested for the inexperienced teacher.

civilizations be clearly indicated, perhaps through a time chart; and that the contacts between them be noted. The gradual movement of civilization westward should be brought out as the class follows the fortunes of the early Oriental peoples, the Greeks and the Romans. Attention should be drawn to the links between East and West supplied by the Mycenaean and Aegean cultures, the projection of Greek culture eastwards into India through the conquests of Alexander, and its consequent intermingling with Persian culture, the influence of Rome in bringing some of these older cultures together and in reaching out into parts of western Europe as yet untouched by these cultural streams. The outstanding characteristics of the cultures of each of these "worlds" can be best appreciated by the wise selection of a few of their remains. In the case of the Orient, pictures of tombs, temples, palace bas-reliefs, inscribed clay tablets, and the ruins of cities (to emphasize the density of the population in the great centers where these civilizations flourished), will do much to drive home some of its characteristic features. In the case of Rome, concentration on such pictures as those of the forum, the colosseum, Roman roads, bridges and aqueducts will assist materially in lending reality to the meaning of the Roman Empire, especially if the geographical and cultural elements of which it was composed are kept before the class by the use of maps.

With the break-up of the Roman Empire the task becomes more difficult of leaving with the class an appreciation of the middle ages. Much can be done here with the help of the map. As attention is drawn to the five elements which entered into the culture of the centuries which followed each of these should be associated with its geographical environment. A selection of readings presenting material such as is to be found in Thompson, J. W., *Reference Studies in Medieval History*, pp. 2-5; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 4-5; Marvin, F. S., *Living Past*, pp. 120-123, will enable the class to appreciate the results of this intermingling of Roman, German, Byzantine, Christian, and Saracen elements, and how it laid the foundations for the transition to modern times. The formation of new political units, as the result of the migrations of the Germans, the influence of the Church in the shaping of these units as represented by the Holy Roman Empire, and the gradual fixing of the boundaries of the present states of Europe can be best shown by means of maps. Typical pictures of medieval castles, the monasteries, romanesque and gothic cathedrals, tournaments, beleaguered cities, &c., will all help to leave with the student impressions of the main channels which confined much of the life of the Middle ages.

From this point on he should be impressed more and more with the merging of the life and culture of those days with that of the present. A rather cursory presentation of the division of Europe into two great hostile religious camps can be built upon later in presenting in some detail the reasons for England's leadership in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the part played by religion in the France of Louis XIV and its importance in the *ancien régime*. The widening of man's horizon through the revolutionary changes which affected commerce between 1500-1600 furnish a satisfactory connecting link between these earlier centuries and the new era which forms the subject of this study. The influence of nationality in fixing the

boundaries of France and England can be developed in connection with the gradual shaping of western Europe during the middle ages towards its present boundaries in the rapid map survey already proposed in connection with the presentation of the medieval world. The time limits represented should be noted throughout and emphasized so that the class will carry away the idea of the comparative shortness of the period to be covered in this study of modern history. This can be done by the use of time charts or the preparation of simple time lines. Considerable latitude is left to the teacher in the outline of the work proposed for these three to four weeks (as this should be the outside limit set for this introductory material). If this is all new material for the class the task will prove much more difficult than would otherwise be the case. The teacher must have the courage to steer a straight course through this part of the history with his eye fixed constantly upon the goal to be attained, which is an appreciation of the struggle toward a more democratic order, as it has been fought out in the more progressive countries of the world, and as it has influenced directly or indirectly people everywhere. It is the life and achievements of peoples rather than that of individuals which should engage the attention and this idea should help the teacher in charting his course through a field as rich as that already sketched. The more concrete the work is made the more satisfactory will be the results. Actual material remains will convey a more correct picture of the interests of the masses than would be true of similar remains today. The potency of ideas is felt as the period of the Renaissance and the French Revolution begin to be reached. The ideas which swayed the masses in these early centuries are more likely to find their embodiment in material remains than is perhaps true of those of the progressive peoples of our own day.

#### BEGINNINGS OF MODERN HISTORY

These first few topics prepare the way for a consideration of the long struggle between the forces of democracy and of autocracy which was brought out into bold relief by the Great European War. Although it is possible to trace some of the influences tending toward democratic methods of government back into the remote past, democracy begins to be a real political force as the result of the emergence of the middle class and their influence upon the English government following the Puritan Revolution and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The transformation of society which accompanied the commercial revolution and the widening of the horizon of mankind through the expansion movement which accompanied it prepared the way for far-reaching changes in government of which the student should be made cognizant.

The French Revolution should be thought of as marking the true beginning of the course, but from the very outset democracy is not to be conceived in the narrow sense of a political relationship, but rather as the effort to the individual to shape his political, social and economic environment in his own interests as contrasted with those of some class or individual. It is in the light of this principle that the starting point of this unit is fixed where it is. The quest is for outstanding evidences of the possession by the individual of this power or ability and the contrast should be emphasized between the situa-



tion faced by the individual on the continent and that to be found in England. Enough of the history of these other countries should be presented so that the relation to the general progress of democratic ideas and democratic movements will be clear from this time forward. The situation in France must be presented in greater detail in order that the background for the French Revolution may be understood. We should constantly be reminded that the picture painted for France is to be accepted for the whole of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia and her neighbors in the East; and it is a much brighter picture for being painted in France, rather than in one of her continental neighbors. If this "old order" is presented as typical of the whole of Western Europe, rather than as characteristic of France alone, the French Revolution is likely to be more clearly understood and current notions about it, drawn from a Dickens or a Carlyle, will be more readily abandoned.

## I

## RISE OF AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR PREDOMINANCE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## 1. LOUIS XIV AND THE FRENCH MONARCHY

1. The Divine Right theory of government as applied in France.
  - a. The position of the King—patronage of art and literature.
  - b. The Army—Louvois; Vauban.
  - c. The Court.
  - d. The Church—The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.
  - e. Social classes.
2. The policy of Louis XIV.
  - a. At home—Colbert.
  - b. Abroad—Wars of Louis XIV.
  - c. His successes and failures.
3. The influence of French ideas and French culture.
  - a. On art.
  - b. On literature.
  - c. On the position of France in Europe.

## Suggestions

As the government of France was typical of those which prevailed on the continent, these elements in the government should be carefully analyzed, emphasis being placed upon its personal character. The king should be regarded as the center about which the whole structure pivoted; the three classes could be represented as three circles, each one a little larger than the other, in that it represented more people. Still another circle could be drawn for the peasants and artisans who were not even classed as belonging to the social order. Those representing the third estate and the masses could be represented as some distance removed from the king. An extract from Saint Simon's *Memoires* and some pictures illustrative of the magnificence of the king's palace and its furnishings will serve to impress the student with its personal character and its "social" as well as its political basis.

Louis XIV's army, his foreign policy, his patronage of art and literature, should all be looked upon as so many ways of enhancing the glory of the monarch and hence that of the state. The more concrete this idea is made through pictures and source material the more readily it will be grasped. The very brilliance of such a king and his court would explain its influence upon other rulers. If all this was possible as the result of personal domination it was naturally not without its imitators, especially in view of the brilliant record made by the French armies and the apparent prosperity and superior intelligence shown by the French people.

## 2. PETER THE GREAT AND THE RUSSIAN AUTOCRATIC SYSTEM

1. The beginnings of Russia.
  - a. Influence of geography upon Russian development.

- b. The origin of the Russian people.
- c. Byzantine and Tartar influence upon its early history.
2. Attempts of Peter the Great to Modernize Russia.
  - a. Conditions at his accession—Oriental and Slavic influences.
  - b. Reforms in the administration—Struggle with the nobles.
  - c. Reforms in the Church.
  - d. Introduction of Western customs.
3. The wars of Peter the Great—Overthrow of Charles XII of Sweden (Poltava, 1709).
4. Russia's position in Europe—Question of Poland.

## Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note briefly the steps in the rise of Russia before the accession of Peter the Great; the part played by geography in its development, notably the rivers and great plains; the combination of influences at work in making the Russian people what they were: their Slavic origin; their relations with the Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Church; and the Tartar conquest; the problems which confronted Peter the Great and the solutions which he proposed; his relations with his neighbors and their importance; and the effects of his work upon Russia's position among the great states of Western Europe. Note the location and extent of Poland; the characteristics of its people; the reasons for its decline; and its position with reference to its neighbors, especially the rising states of Russia and Prussia.

It will be noted that this topic includes a survey of conditions in Sweden and Poland, but primarily as they have to do with Russia and Russian expansion. By this expansion movement Russia was rapidly extending the sphere of her influence. Russia, like France, was a representative and exponent of absolutism, but an absolutism of a somewhat different type and resting upon a different foundation. Frequent references to the map should accompany this study. A series of maps showing Russian development will make clear the situation in Eastern Europe and the relation of these states to each other.

## 3. THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT AND OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

1. The Rise of Prussia.
  - a. The beginnings of Brandenburg and Prussia.
  - b. The expansion of Prussia to 1740.
    - 1) Union of Brandenburg and Prussia.
    - 2) Territorial gains and reforms of the Great Elector (1640-1688).
    - 3) The Prussian system of government.
2. Frederick the Great and his ambitions.
  - a. His wars and their effects on Prussia.
    - 1) War of the Austrian Succession.
    - 2) The Seven Years' War.
  - b. His internal reforms.
3. The Reform movement of the 18th century—the Enlightened Despotism.
  - a. The new ideas and their influence.
    - 1) Their English origin—John Locke.
    - 2) The French philosophers and publicists: Voltaire; Montesquieu; Diderot; the Encyclopedists.
  - b. The enlightened despots and their reform programs.
    - 1) Their ideas of a ruler's duties.
    - 2) Their problems—social and economic conditions on the continent.
    - 3) Undertakings of the Emperor Joseph II.
    - 4) Accomplishments of Catherine II of Russia.
    - 5) Frederick the Great as an Enlightened Ruler.
    - 6) Reform ministers.
  - c. Illustrations of the changes effected.
    - 1) In the feudal system.
    - 2) Law and administration of justice—Beccaria.
    - 3) Public Works.
    - 4) Education.
    - 5) Freedom of press.

4. The End of Poland.
  - a. The First Partition (1772).
  - b. The National Revival and the Second Partition (1793).
  - c. The Revolution of 1794 and the Third Partition (1795).

#### Suggestions

In connection with the rise of Prussia the teacher should emphasize the steps by which the House of Hohenzollern gradually brought together the nucleus of a state; the territorial elements of which it was composed; the work of the Great Elector in shaping its organization and character; and his contributions to its development.

It is important to note the extent and power of Prussia at the accession of Frederick the Great; the part he played in European affairs and its influence upon the upbuilding of the Prussian state, fixing its position among the great powers of Europe.

Study his internal reforms as a part of the larger movement represented by the Enlightened Despotism. Trace these ideas back to their origin in England, noting how and by whom they were spread, and the reasons for their adoption by so many of the rulers and statesmen of the time. Analyze a typical reform program, noting carefully the objectives sought; the methods by which these objects were to be realized; and the success attained in each case. Note to what extent this new conception of government made for real progress.

In approaching the topic, the end of Poland, the teacher should note how and why, under the leadership of Frederick the Great and Catherine II of Russia, Poland was dismembered and disappeared as an independent state; and how the territory was divided at each partition.

## II

### 4. THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE 1500-1715

1. The Commercial Revolution (1500-1600), and its effects.
  - a. Trade in the Middle Ages.
    - 1) The towns as trade centers.
    - 2) The commodities handled.
    - 3) The methods employed.
    - 4) Medieval trade routes.
  - b. The great voyages of discovery.
    - 1) Vasco de Gama.
    - 2) Columbus.
    - 3) Magellan.
  - c. Effects on trade.
    - 1) The new routes.
    - 2) New commodities.
    - 3) Improved banking and credit facilities.
    - 4) Rise and development of the joint stock and trading companies.
    - 5) The great trading companies and their achievements.
2. The founding of colonial empires.
  - a. The Portuguese: their aims; field of operations; weaknesses.
  - b. The Spanish colonial empire; its extent; policy of Spanish rulers.
  - c. The Dutch as traders and colonizers.
  - d. English enterprise to 1600.
    - 1) In America.
    - 2) In the Near East.
    - 3) In the Far East.
3. The Mercantile System: its strength and weaknesses.
  - a. Idea of a balance of trade.
  - b. Bounties.
  - c. Restrictions on export of raw material.
  - d. Encouragement of shipping.
  - e. State aid.
4. The Growing Importance of the Middle Class (Bourgeoisie).
  - a. In England.
  - b. On the continent—Italy, France.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the part played by the epoch-making discoveries in bringing

about changes in commerce and business as carried on in Europe, the revolutionary character of the changes, analyzing the conditions peculiar to trade in the Middle Ages, and contrasting them with the new and more modern conditions, covering in detail, commodities, methods, and routes, and noting especially the tremendous political, social and economic effects upon the people. The class should follow one by one the fortunes of the nations who entered the field, noting the outstanding differences in their objects and methods, the fields in which they labored, and the success or failure which attended their efforts. The mercantile system should be studied as a program to be followed by a competitor for this trade, noting why it commended itself to the nations concerned. Note just how the middle class increased in number and influence as the result of this "revolution" and its significance for the future.

## III

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND (1603-1750) AND THE FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

#### 5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, 1603-1750.

1. The Puritan Revolution.
  - a. Causes.
    - 1) James I and the Divine Right Theory.
    - 2) Charles I and his attempt to rule without parliament.
    - 3) Religious differences.
  - b. The conflict—Oliver Cromwell's victories.
  - c. Results.
    - 1) Trial and execution of Charles I.
    - 2) The Commonwealth and Protectorate.
2. The Restoration (1660) and the Revolution of 1688.
  - a. The religious and political settlements of the Restoration period.
  - b. Tryanny of James II.
  - c. The Bill of Rights and the Accession of William and Mary.
3. The change of dynasty and its effects.
  - a. Growth of the Cabinet—Walpole.
  - b. Development of party system of government.
4. The English system of government.
  - a. The King.
  - b. The Cabinet.
  - c. Parliament: composition and powers.
  - d. The Church—the Toleration Act (1689).

#### Suggestions

In this survey of English development, the course of events between 1603 and 1750 must be related closely to the political system to which they gave birth. The two revolutions and the change of dynasty are to be studied with this object clearly in mind; they constitute the explanation of the English political system as we find it about 1750. The Divine Right idea should be carefully analyzed and James I's reign studied merely as an illustration of its operation. Charles I's reign should be considered from the standpoint of the relations between king and parliament at the beginning and at the end of his reign, noting the part played by religious differences and the shaping of the English constitutional system through the Petition of Right. Enough of the reigns of Charles II and James II should be presented to make clear the results of the Revolution of 1688, particularly their effects (1) on the relations between King and parliament, (2) on the Church and (3) on the party system. The outstanding clauses of the Bill of Rights might be presented to illustrate what had taken place. A careful analysis should be made of the parts of the English government machinery, noting to what extent it represented the whole population and was really democratic in character.

#### 6. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY STRUGGLE FOR TRADE AND COLONIAL EMPIRE AND THE FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(Review Topic 4, p. 24.)

1. The decay of the older world powers and the expansion of England and France, 1650-1700.

- a. Division of the colonial world between Spain, Portugal and Holland.
  - b. Weaknesses of the older colonizing powers.
  - c. Expansion of England in America and in India.
    - 1) The Thirteen Colonies.
    - 2) The London East India Company and its work.
  - d. Colonial ambitions of France.
    - 1) Occupation of Canada and the Mississippi basin.
    - 2) Designs on India.
  - e. Contrasts between English and French colonial enterprises, and methods.
2. Preliminary struggle for world-wide supremacy—Outbreak of the "Second Hundred Years' War" (1689-1815).
    - a. War of the League of Augsburg.
      - 1) Its European aspects.
      - 2) Its colonial aspects—King William's War.
    - b. The War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-1713.
      - 1) Causes: dynastic interests; balance of power; colonial interests.
      - 2) The participants and their interests.
      - 3) Marlborough's victories.
      - 4) Struggle in America (Queen Anne's War).
      - 5) Effects upon colonial and commercial development.
    - c. The War of the Austrian Succession.
      - 1) European causes.
      - 2) Colonial interests involved—Rivalry of Duplex and Clive in India.
      - 3) Results.
  3. The triumph of Great Britain—the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.
    - a. The change in alliances, 1756.
    - b. The connection with the preceding struggles.
      - 1) Enmity between Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great.
      - 2) Clashing interests of France and England in America and Asia.
    - c. The allies and their war aims.
    - d. The struggles on the continent—victories of Frederick the Great.
    - e. The French and Indian War in America, 1754-1763.
      - 1) The period of disaster to 1757.
      - 2) Policy of William Pitt, the Elder, and success of England, 1757-1760.
    - f. The struggle in India.
      - 1) The Black Hole incident.
      - 2) Clive and the subjugation of Bengal—Plassey.
      - 3) Overthrow of the French in Southern India—Wandewash.
    - g. The Treaty of Paris, 1763.
  4. The American Revolution.
    - a. Attempts of England to change her colonial policy.
      - 1) Contrasts between colonial theory and colonial practise to 1760—Walpole.
      - 2) Accession of George III and its effects upon England's colonial policy.
      - 3) Grenville's new policy.
      - 4) The Townshend Acts.
    - b. Opposition to George III in England and reasons: Burke, Fox and the Whigs.
    - c. The opposition in America.
      - 1) The Stamp Act Congress.
      - 2) The non-intercourse agreements and Committees of Correspondence.
      - 3) The Continental Congresses.
      - 4) The Declaration of Independence.
    - d. The War.
      - 1) Isolation of England in Europe and reasons.
      - 2) The French Alliance (1778), and the French Navy.
      - 3) Victories of Saratoga and Yorktown.
    - e. The Treaty of Peace (1783), and its effects.
      - 1) Formation of the United States.
      - 2) Influence upon English colonial policy.

5. Acquisition by England of an empire in the Pacific.
  - a. Captain Cook's voyages.
  - b. Opening of Australia and New Zealand.
6. Decline of mercantilism.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the conditions which favored the entrance of England and France into the colonial field between 1650 and 1700; their respective fields of operations and the contrasts they presented as to their policies, with its significance for world development.

Note how the wars of the period from being largely dynastic in character at the outset hinge more and more upon American or Asiatic considerations as time passes; note the nations interested and the war aims or ambitions of each; the merging of one struggle into another and the shifting about of the nations involved; and the factors contributing to English success.

Note how the mercantile theory worked in theory and in practice as illustrated by the events leading to the American Revolution; the relation of the struggle to the progress of democracy and England's position as a world power; the contemporary acquisitions of territory in the Pacific and the extent and character of the British empire at the close of the period.

The central thought here is the building of the English colonial empire and the foundations upon which it rested. Attention should also be drawn to the spread of Anglo-Saxon ideas to America and Asia. The horizon of European culture was tremendously widened as the result of these events and European history takes on a world aspect, being shaped itself as much by what was taking place in Asia and America as it was itself shaping the destinies of these continents.

#### IV.

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES TO 1815

7. THE OVERTHROW OF THE OLD ORDER (ANCIENT REGIME)
  1. Conditions in France favorable to revolution—the old order and its defects.
    - a. Social.
      - 1) Class privileges.
      - 2) Feudal survivals.
    - b. Economic.
      - 1) Trade restrictions.
      - 2) Feudal burdens.
      - 3) System of taxation.
      - 4) Waste and extravagance of the rulers.
    - c. Political.
      - 1) Organization of the government.
      - 2) Absolutism of the king.
      - 3) Failures of Louis XV.
    - d. Intellectual—the writings and teachings of the philosophers and economists.
      - 1) Voltaire and Montesquieu.
      - 2) Rousseau and the Encyclopedists.
  2. Influence of England and of the American Revolution.
  3. The calling of the States General and the end of the old order.
    - a. Louis XVI and his reform ministers.
      - 1) Louis XVI and his problems.
      - 2) Turgot's plans and the opposition of the Court.
      - 3) Necker and his balance sheet.
      - 4) Calonne's financial program.
    - b. Necker and the summoning of the States General.
      - 1) Preliminary steps—The Assembly of the Notables, 1786.
      - 2) Difficulties involved.
        - a) Method of Election.
        - b) Apportionment of representatives.
        - c) The Cahiers.
    - c. Organization of the States General as the National-Constituent Assembly.
      - 1) Question of voting.
      - 2) Opposition of the Court and the Tennis Court Oath.



- 3) The influence of Paris.
  - a) Fall of the Bastille (July 14), and formation of the National Guard.
  - b) Removal of the King and Queen to Paris.
- 4) Influence of Mirabeau.
- d. The accomplishments of the Assembly.
  - a. Social and Economic.
    - 1) Abolition of Privileges and Declaration of the Rights of Man.
    - 2) The Constitution of the Clergy.
    - 3) Financial measures—the assignats.
  - b. Political—The Constitution of 1791.
    - 1) Suffrage.
    - 2) The Legislative Assembly.
    - 3) The King—restrictions on his powers.

#### Suggestions

Analyze carefully the various conditions which entered into and formed a part of the *ancien régime* (the old order); whether the revolution in its origin was primarily inspired by social, economic or political conditions. The conclusion reached will help toward a better understanding of the nature of the movement and the part played by social as contrasted with political and economic factors and so make clear the relative importance to the world at large of the various changes which it effected. Note the efforts of the king and his ministers to meet the situation, analyzing the plans proposed as to their practicability and their adaptation to the situation. Note whether the movement could have been averted and where the responsibility should be placed for its outbreak. Note why the meeting of the States General marks the beginning of the end of the Old order. Note the part played by the bourgeoisie, or third estate; the events which marked their struggle to secure recognition and the role played by the mob, noting how far it determined the outcome.

Note the tasks assumed by the National Assembly and the success with which they were performed. The importance of the Constitution of 1791, marking as it did the completion of the work begun in 1789, should be clearly appreciated. What was there new and significant about the "New Order" which replaced the old?

#### 8. THE REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE WITH EUROPE

1. The new government of 1791 and its problems.
  - a. Parties.
  - b. The flight of the king and its effects (June, 1791).
  - c. The Declaration of Pillnitz (Aug., 1791).
2. The outbreak of war and the overthrow of the monarchy.
  - a. Causes.
    - 1) The responsibility of the parties.
    - 2) The flight of the émigrés.
    - 3) The attitude of the king.
    - 4) Foreign intervention.
  - b. The declaration of war.
  - c. The first invasion of the Tuileries (June 20, 1792).
  - d. The Manifesto of Brunswick and the attack on the Tuileries (Aug. 10).
  - e. Verdun and the September massacres.
  - f. The Convention and the Declaration of the Republic.
3. The Committee of Public Safety and the Terror.
  - a. The situation in 1793.
    - 1) The trial and execution of the king.
    - 2) The hostility of England, Holland and Spain.
    - 3) Treason of Dumouriez.
    - 4) Strife between Girondists and Mountain.
  - b. The organization of the Committee of Public Safety and its methods—the Terror.
  - c. Carnot and the organization of victory.
  - d. The fall of the Girondists.
  - e. Divisions in the Committee and the dictatorship of Robespierre.
4. The overthrow of Robespierre and the restoration of constitutional government.
  - a. Constitution of the Year III.

- b. Treaties of Basle and the Hague, 1795.
5. Effects of the Revolution on France and on Europe.
  - a. The accomplishments of the Convention.
  - b. The revolutionary propaganda and its reception.
  - c. The additions of territory by France.
  - d. The partition of Poland.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the disturbing factors in the situation in 1791, how such elements in the situation as the rise and growth of parties, the attitude of the king, as shown in the flight of Varennes, and the possibility of foreign intervention threatened to prolong the revolution and give it a more violent direction; the far-reaching consequences which followed the declaration of war both for France and her relations with Europe; the crisis which the year 1793 brought with it; the heroic measures adopted to meet the situation; the success attained at home and abroad, especially the spread of the revolutionary ideas; the seizure by Robespierre of the opportunity presented to a single individual to dominate the situation; his use of it and his overthrow. Note how order was finally restored and peace with Europe secured. Note the progress attained as the result of these events, not overlooking their relation to the fate of Poland.

The action and interaction of events in France and in Europe should be stressed, noting how the course of the Revolution in France was altered thereby, and how its ideas were spread abroad by this hostile contact of France with other nations of Europe. Events within the country and developments without might be arranged in parallel columns, writing across the dividing line those which seem to be difficult to classify under one heading. The evidences of this influence will appear later and will be stressed in their relation with the particular countries involved.

#### 9. THE SUPREMACY OF NAPOLEON AND HIS OVERTHROW

1. The Directory and the advent of Napoleon.
  - a. The situation in 1795.
    - 1) In France.
    - 2) In Europe—Effects of the Revolution.
  - b. Early career of Napoleon.
    - 1) His training and personality.
    - 2) His connection with the Revolution to 1795.
  - c. Napoleon in Italy and in Egypt.
    - 1) Nature and success of the Italian campaign of 1796.
    - 2) The Egyptian expedition—Battle of the Nile.
    - 3) The reorganization of Italy.
    - 4) Revival of interest in the history and antiquities of Egypt.
2. The establishment of his power in France, 1799-1803.
  - a. Power and influence of the army.
  - b. Inefficiency and unpopularity of the Directory.
  - c. Overthrow of the Directory and formation of the Consulate.
  - d. Transformation of the Consulate into the Empire.
  - e. The work of peace.
    - 1) The Concordat.
    - 2) The Code Napoleon.
    - 3) Education—The University.
    - 4) Public Works.
    - 5) Encouragement of trade and industry.
      - a) Plans for colonial empire—Louisiana and Hayti.
      - b) Bank of France.
3. The extension of his power over Europe.
  - a. Establishment of his power over Italy, 1800-1802.
  - b. Overthrow of Austria and reorganization of Germany—Ulm and Austerlitz (1805).
  - c. The humiliation of Prussia—Jena (1806).
  - d. Eylau and Friedland and the Peace of Tilsit (1807).
  - e. Attempts to crush England.
    - 1) By invasion—Camp at Boulogne.
    - 2) On the sea—Trafalgar, 1805.
    - 3) On the continent—England's part in the coalitions.

- 4) Significance of England's hostility.
4. The struggle against Napoleon and his overthrow.
  - a. The Napoleonic menace—influence of the Napoleonic régime.
    - 1) On France—growth of absolutism.
    - 2) On Europe—territorial rearrangements and administrative reforms.
  - b. The Continental System and the Nationalist reaction against Napoleon.
    - 1) The Berlin and Milan decrees and the Orders in Council.
    - 2) Dynastic ambitions of Napoleon and his idea of universal empire.
    - 3) Resistance of Spain and Portugal.
    - 4) Revolt of Austria—Wagram and its results.
    - 5) The reawakening of Prussia—Stein and Scharnhorst.
  - c. The Moscow campaign and the War of Liberation.
    - 1) Hostility of Northern Europe.
    - 2) Russian campaign of 1812 and its results.
    - 3) Leipzig, 1813.
    - 4) Napoleon's abdication and exile to Elba, 1814.
    - 5) The Hundred Days and Waterloo, 1815.
5. The Congress of Vienna and its settlements.
  - a. The Great Powers and their interests.
  - b. The territorial readjustments.
    - 1) France.
    - 2) Germany.
    - 3) The Netherlands.
    - 4) Switzerland.
    - 5) The Scandinavian peninsula.
    - 6) Colonies and dependencies.
  - c. Effects upon the work of the Revolution.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note in some detail the situation in 1795 and the characteristics and early career of the man who was to take advantage of these conditions; his opportunity as it presented itself in the campaigns in Italy and Egypt and the use he made of it; the conditions favorable to his rise to power, the overthrow of the existing government and the steps by which he attained, first, the mastery of France, and, this once secured, the control of a large part of Western Europe. Note how much was under his control, the nature of this control and what it meant to Europe, its advantages and its dangers. Note particularly the reasons for England's long drawn-out hostility, the turn of the tide against Napoleon on the continent, the part played especially by the people themselves, who had been aroused by his undemocratic political and economic arrangements, taking advantage of the Russian disaster. The Hundred Days should be studied as an anti-climax. Note the problems involved in the restoration of peace and the readjustments of territory; the countries responsible for their solution and the success attending their efforts. Care should be exercised not to devote too much time and attention to Napoleon's military campaigns. Take one, such as Wagram, or Austerlitz, or any other, and study it as a type.

Napoleon's efforts to modify the existing social, economic and political order in Europe represent his interpretation of the French Revolutionary ideas and his particular use of them to further his own ambitions. His work should be interpreted largely from this standpoint. Claiming to be the child of the Revolution, he was more successful than Robespierre before him in dominating the situation and in bringing things to pass as he saw them. His career raises the question as to the desirability of one far-sighted man being entrusted with the power to shape the destinies of a nation or a people. The rising of the peoples in protest against some of his measures and the persistent hostility of the English nation are significant features of the era.

#### V

#### 10. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>This analysis which follows is more detailed than some of the others, with a view to making clear the kind of material to be used.

1. Conditions responsible—preliminaries of the revolution.
  - a. Demands of trade on industry.
  - b. England's advantages as an industrial center.
    - 1) Her resources and position as a great naval and commercial country.
    - 2) Development of textile industry.
    - 3) Use of iron and coal.
    - 4) Intellectual and scientific progress.
    - 5) Relation of the government to the economic development.
  - c. Breakdown of the guild system and beginnings of the domestic system.
    - 1) The characteristics of the guild system.
    - 2) Nature and importance of the change to the domestic system.
      - a) Division of labor.
      - b) Importance of capital.
      - c) Disappearance of guild restrictions.
2. The revolution in agriculture.
  - a. The old manorial system and its gradual breakdown.
    - 1) The open-field system.
    - 2) The crops.
    - 3) Condition of peasant.
    - 4) Growth of enclosures.
  - b. The awakening of the 18th century in England.
    - 1) Conditions at the opening of the century.
      - a) New crops.
      - b) Persistence of open-field system.
      - c) Beginnings of animal industry.
    - 2) Jethro Tull and Turnip Townshend and improvements in methods of tillage.
      - a) Introduction of artificial grasses for cattle feeding.
      - b) Introduction of new food crops: rye, beans, potatoes, etc.
      - c) Improvements in farm machinery; the plow, horses, hoe, seeder, etc.
      - d) Introduction of artificial fertilizers.
      - e) Introduction of scientific rotation of crops.
    - 3) Robert Bakewell and improvements in cattle and sheep-breeding.
    - 4) Enclosures and the consolidation of small farms.
    - 5) Capitalistic organization of agriculture.
    - 6) Relation of the changes in agriculture to changes in industry.
      - a) The problem of food and raw materials.
      - b) Shifting from agriculture to industry.
3. The new inventions and the revolution in the processes of manufacture.
  - a. In the textile trades.
    - 1) The flying shuttle, 1738.
    - 2) Spinning jenny, 1767.
    - 3) Arkwright's water frame, 1769.
    - 4) Crompton's mule, 1779.
    - 5) Cartwright's power loom, 1787.
    - 6) Improvements in calico printing, 1783-1800.
    - 7) Whitney's cotton gin, 1793.
  - b. In the iron industry.
    - 1) The old process of charcoal smelting.
    - 2) Coal smelting.
    - 3) The blast furnace, 1760.
  - c. In the china and earthenware trades—Josiah Wedgwood.
4. The steam engine and its application to industry.
  - a. Papin's engine.
  - b. Newcomen's pump in the mining industry, 1704.
  - c. Watt's engine applied to the textile and other trades, 1769-1819.
5. The revolution in transportation.
  - a. Road building and canal construction.
    - 1) Macadam and the new turnpikes.
    - 2) The construction of canals.
  - b. Application of steam to transportation.
    - 1) Fulton's steamboat, 1825.
    - 2) Stephenson's locomotive, 1825.

- 3) Building of railroads.
- 4) Development of ocean transportation and inland waterways.
- 6. Introduction of the "factory" system.
  - a. The characteristics of the factory.
    - 1) Power (steam or water).
    - 2) Machinery.
    - 3) Men.
  - b. Effects of the new system.
    - 1) Development of large-scale production.
    - 2) Growth of the capitalist class and separation of interests of capital and labor.
    - 3) Redistribution of population.
    - 4) Employment of women and children.
    - 5) End of old system of trade regulation—disappearance of mercantilism.
    - 6) Growth of trade-unionism.
    - 7) Socialism.
  - c. Effects on England's relations with the rest of the world.
    - 1) In the French Revolution.
    - 2) Under Napoleon—The "continental system."

#### Suggestions

To realize the relation of the industrial revolution to the development of the time it is important that some consideration be given to the conditions responsible for this change and the industrial conditions which preceded it. This change should be related closely to the commercial revolution, noting the increasing dependence of the trading class on the production of commodities as their markets expanded. Note England's advantages as an industrial center, reviewing possibly the development of the wool industry. Note the guild system as it had to do with promoting or retarding an industry, the breakdown of this system, and the movement of industry into the country and the close relations thereby established between agriculture and industry (pictured in literature in Eliot's *Silas Marner*). Note the characteristics of this new system which was replacing the old.

Note the persistence of the manor, the forces which were gradually transforming it, beginning with the 16th century. Note the state of agriculture in the 18th century and how it was revolutionized as the result of men like Tull, Townshend and Bakewell; the effects of this upon production and in the creation of class distinctions. Note the natural dependence of developments in industry upon the increased production of food and raw material.

Note the fourfold nature of the industrial changes which began about 1760: (1) The revolution in inventions and processes; (2) in the means of transportation; (3) the revolution through the new motive power of steam; and (4) in the introduction of the factory system through the combination and 1 and 3. Note the trades particularly affected, tracing in some detail the steps by which first spinning and then weaving were improved, noting the interdependence of these steps. Note in some detail the reasons for, and the far-reaching consequences of, the changes attending the establishment of the "factory" system of industry, with its influence on the working classes, not overlooking its effect in fixing England's position among the other countries of Europe.

#### VI.

#### THE SPREAD OF THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION TO THE CONTINENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION, 1815-1848

- 11. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT AND THE RISE OF SOCIALISM, 1815-1848
  - 1. The revolution in France.
    - a. Favorable conditions.
      - 1) The passing of the guild, 1774-1791.
      - 2) Removal of the prohibition upon the export of machinery from England, 1825.

- 3) Recovery from the shock of the Revolution and Napoleon.
- b. Characteristics.
  - 1) Large-scale manufacture of iron.
  - 2) Scarcity of coal.
  - 3) Production of articles of luxury.
- c. The importance of the capitalist class under Louis Philippe (1830-1848).
- 2. The Revolution in Germany.
  - a. Lateness of the movement and reasons.
    - 1) Conservatism of the people.
    - 2) Attachment to agriculture.
    - 3) Poverty and lack of capital, of an adequate currency, and banking facilities.
    - 4) Lack of markets for German-made goods.
    - 5) Lack of colonies and absence of shipping.
    - 6) Disunion and separateness of states.
  - b. Beginnings, of English origin (1845-50).
    - 1) Importation of English machinery.
    - 2) Introduction of English workmen.
  - c. Progress to 1871.
- 3. Socialism and socialist teachings.
  - a. Louis Blanc and the founding of the Socialist party in France.
  - b. Marx and Engels and the Communist Manifesto (1848).

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the conditions which were favorable to, and those which retarded, the introduction of machine production and the factory system, particularly in France and in Germany; the dependence upon England for machinery; the extent to which they made use of their own resources; the rapid growth in France of a factory class and its inferior position under the government of Louis Philippe. Note the slow progress made by Germany down to 1871, with the explanations for this. Note, finally, the gradual shaping of socialist programs and the crystallizing of their ideas, both in France and Germany, under the influence of men like Blanc, Marx and Engels.

#### 12. METTERNICH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1815-1848

- 1. Metternich and the reaction in Europe.
  - a. The reactionary settlements of 1815.
    - 1) Louis XVIII and the charter of 1814.
    - 2) The restoration of the Bourbons in Spain and Naples.
    - 3) The situation in Austria and Germany.
  - b. The Tory Reaction in England.
    - 1) Economic distress and political unrest.
    - 2) The Six Acts.
  - c. Metternich and the "Holy Alliance."
    - 1) Power and influence of Metternich.
    - 2) The "Holy Alliance" and its objects.
- 2. The struggle for constitutional government on the continent.
  - a. The revolutionary movements of 1820-30.
    - 1) Extent and character of the revolution of 1820.
    - 2) The Congresses and the Doctrine of Intervention.
      - a) The Carlsbad Resolutions, 1819.
      - b) Restoration of the exiled Bourbons.
      - c) Interest in Greece.
      - d) Opposition to the "Holy Alliance"—the Monroe Doctrine.
    - 3) The Revolution of 1830 in France and on the continent.
  - b. The Revolution of 1848.
    - 1) Causes.
      - a) The Industrial Revolution.
      - b) Feeling of nationality.
      - c) Dissatisfaction with reactionary governments.
    - 2) Its beginnings in France.
    - 3) The spread of the movement.



- a) In the "Germanies."
- b) In the Austrian possessions.
- 4) Its failures and successes.
  - a) Fall of Metternich.
  - b) Grant of constitutions.
  - c) Shattering of Italian and German movements toward unity.
- 3. Growth of democracy in England.
  - a. Extension of the suffrage and reform of Parliament.
    - 1) The Catholic Emancipation, October, 1829.
    - 2) The Reform Bill of 1832.
    - 3) The Chartist movement.
  - b. Reform measures.
    - 1) The criminal law.
    - 2) Abolition of slavery.
    - 3) Factory legislation.
    - 4) Public education.
    - 5) Free trade.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note how far the arrangements made at the Congress of Vienna and immediately following were designed to promote permanent peace, especially the formation of the Holy Alliance and its policy of intervention. Note the disturbing elements in the situation due to the failure of the Congress to recognize the feeling of democracy and nationality which had been awakened; the power wielded by Metternich and the Holy Alliance; and the outbreaks against the existing order which marked the years 1820-22, 1830, and 1848. Note especially the origin of these movements, explaining this, and the gradual spread of unrest, culminating in a general upheaval in 1848. Note in connection with the part played by economic changes in this later movement the rise and spread of socialism, especially in France and Germany. Contrast what was happening on the continent with developments across the channel, noting how isolated England was, and how concerned Englishmen were with internal problems. Note what this period meant to world development (1) in the gains made by democracy, especially in England; and (2) in the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, with the conditions which were responsible for this pronouncement.

### VII

#### THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY AND ITS EFFECTS UPON EUROPE, 1848-1871.

- 13. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ITS INFLUENCE UPON EUROPE, 1848-1856.
- 1. Character and aims of Louis Napoleon.
- 2. His power in France and the methods by which it was secured.
  - a. The suffrage.
  - b. The plebiscite and its use.
  - c. The army.
  - d. Encouragement of trade and industry.
- 3. The Crimean War, 1854-1856, and the part taken by France.

#### Suggestions

The part played by France in the period from 1848 to 1871 can be best understood by analyzing the effects upon the country of the revolutionary movements of the preceding period and recognizing the significance of the accession to power of Napoleon III. Contrast the nephew with the uncle, noting how far his mastery of the situation was the result of (1) real ability; (2) the magic of the name which he bore; and (3) favorable conditions in Europe. Note in some detail his program, first as it concerned France and then as it determined the relations of France with Europe. A point for point contrast between the two Napoleons will serve to bring out wherein they seemed to be alike and wherein they really differed. This should cover aims, methods and programs. The influence of the Napoleonic legend should not be overlooked and the advantage which the name Napoleon carried with it. (See in this connection H. A. L. Fisher, Bonapartism.) Napoleon I, his

nephew, and the writers of the generation which followed his death had done much to prepare the way for a favorable reception at the hands of the people of anything which could be identified with the great Napoleon.

The Crimean War should be studied primarily as an explanation of how Napoleon III wormed his way into the councils of Europe, securing the opportunity of calling another great Congress to reopen and recast the arrangements made at the Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Paris (1856) should be interpreted with these points in mind.

#### 14. THE STRUGGLE FOR ITALIAN UNITY

- 1. The Revolution of 1848-49 and its effects upon Italy.
- 2. The obstacles to unification and their removal.
  - a. Nature of the difficulties.
  - b. Preparation, 1849-1859.
    - 1) Mazzini and "Young Italy."
    - 2) Aims and work of Cavour.
      - a) Economic and military reforms.
      - b) The Crimean War and its results.
  - c. Realization, 1859-1871.
    - 1) Napoleon III and the Austro-Sardinian War, 1859.
    - 2) The annexations in the North.
    - 3) Garibaldi and the annexations in the South.
    - 4) The Austro-Prussian War (1866) and the completion of Italian unification, 1870-1871.
  - d. The organization and problems of the new Kingdom of Italy.

#### Suggestions

A comparison of the map of Europe in 1815 with the map in 1914 will serve to introduce the great changes which mark the period from 1848-1871 and will also help to make clearer the territorial changes which had accompanied the struggles of the preceding generation. The essential unity of Europe's development will be clearer if this topic and the topic immediately preceding and following it are closely related in the discussions of the classroom. Napoleon III utilized the rising tide of nationality—in many of its earlier manifestations, an essentially democratic manifestation—to advance his own fortunes and those of Imperial France. A review and a comparison of the failures of Italy and Germany in 1848-49 and the reasons which lay behind those failures will serve to make clear by contrast the methods used in 1859-71 and the part taken by Napoleon III. The contributions made by each of the four actors in the Italian movement, King Victor Emmanuel, Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi should be brought out, not overlooking the part played by the people themselves. A map of Italy, laying emphasis by the use of bright colors upon the obstacles presented by the presence of the foreigner (Austria) and the existence of the papal states will serve as a basis for an analysis of the problems presented and the means employed to accomplish the desired result. The opportunity should not be neglected of pointing out how many of Italy's problems after 1871 were the outcome of the events of this period, e. g., the relations between church and state, the maintenance of an army, and the heavy burden of taxation necessary to maintain the position of the new kingdom.

#### 15. THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMAN UNITY AND THE CREATION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

- 1. The failure of 1848 in Germany and its lessons.
- 2. Bismarck and the achievement of unity.
  - a. The economic link—the Zollverein.
  - b. The reform of the army.
  - c. The exclusion of Austria and the formation of the North German Federation.
    - 1) The position of Austria in Germany.
    - 2) The Danish War.
    - 3) The Seven Weeks' War, 1866.
    - 4) Results.
  - d. The Franco-German War and the formation of the German Empire, 1870-1871.
    - 1) Interest of Napoleon III in Germany.
    - 2) Sedan and its consequences.

- a) Completion of German unity.
- b) Fall of the Second Empire.
- 3. The creation of the Dual Monarchy.
  - a. Effects of 1848 upon Austria.
  - b. The Ausgleich or Compromise, 1867.
  - c. The problem of nationality in the Empire.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the close linking together of the fortunes of France, Germany and Austria in this phase of the history of the period. Bismarck's diagnosis of the reasons for the earlier failures of Germany to unite should be contrasted with the events of 1848-49. His methods should be discussed in the light of the methods followed by the leaders of the unification movement in Italy, noting how Prussia's part in this movement contrasts with that played by Sardinia in Italy. The democratic and undemocratic features of both efforts should be made prominent. Note the essential unity of Bismarck's scheme as it shows itself in the three wars; the part played by Italy; and the rôle assigned to Napoleon III through the scheming of the Iron Chancellor. These wars should be handled as a unit, beginning with the Danish War, noting how each was in a measure the sequel to the other. The points of difference and the points of similarity between the situations presented in Italy and in Germany should be noted, e. g., in the presence of Austria and the interest of France, helping and hindering the work which had to be accomplished.

In connection with the downfall of the Second Empire at Sedan, the relation between Napoleon III's schemes and his internal policy should be brought out, recognizing perhaps three periods in his handling of the situation at home. These may be characterized as that of the autocratic empire from 1852-1860; as the liberal empire from 1860-1869, and the parliamentary empire from September, 1869, to September, 1870. The world-wide character of his enterprises, involving not alone Europe, but America and Asia, should be touched upon to emphasize the scope of French leadership.

The creation of the Dual Monarchy should be handled in much the same way as Italy and Germany with reference to the revolutionary movements of 1848-49. The nature of the *Ausgleich* of 1867 and the problems which it left unsolved, especially those which had to do with the relations of its many peoples to the central government, should be clearly analyzed in the light of the break-up and disintegration of the Empire in the period following the Great War.

### VIII

#### THE PENETRATION OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND ITS RESULTANT CHANGES, 1870-1914

##### 16. THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

1. Conditions favorable to the spread of European influence in Asia and in Africa.
  - a. The development of transportation and the means of communication.
  - b. The organization of business.
  - c. Influence of tariffs and duties.
  - d. The desire for markets.
  - e. Over-population and emigration.
  - f. The rise and spread of the missionary movement.
  - g. European rivalries and the growth of imperialistic tendencies.
2. The nature of the Near Eastern question and its origin.
  - a. The Turkish Empire in 1815.
  - b. Conflicting interests (religious, political and economic) of the powers in the Near East.
  - c. Position and ambition of Russia with reference to Turkey; Pan-Slavism.
3. The attempts to solve the Near Eastern question.
  - a. The first stage—to 1878.
    - 1) The Greek War of Independence, 1821-1833.
    - 2) The struggle between Turkey and Egypt, 1831-1840.
    - 3) The Crimean War, 1854-1856.

- 4) The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878, and the Congress of Berlin, 1878.
- b. The second stage—the emergence of the Balkan States, 1878-1908.
  - 1) The new kingdoms of Roumania and Serbia, 1881-1882.
  - 2) The union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia and the war with Serbia, 1885-1886.
  - 3) The Graeco-Turkish War, 1897-1898.
- c. The third stage—the Turkish Revolution and its consequences, 1908-1914.
  - 1) The Young Turk movement, 1908-1909.
    - a) Restoration of the constitution.
    - b) Annexations by Austria.
    - c) Independence of Bulgaria.
    - d) The Counter-Revolution and the fall of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, 1909.
  - 2) The Turco-Italian War, 1911-1912.
  - 3) The Balkan War, 1912-1913, and the consequent changes.
  - 4) Rivalries in the Balkans and the conflicting interests of England, Germany, Austria and Russia.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the comparative lateness of the general interest of Europe in Asia and in Africa, with the reasons for this as suggested in the analysis. A survey of a world map for the holdings of the different nations about 1870 will serve to recall its earlier trade contacts with Europe, and particularly the stages in the growth of the English colonial empire.

A careful study should be made of the boundaries of the Turkish Empire as they were in 1815, noting how much more extensive they had been in earlier centuries. In this connection attention should be called by means of a race map to the intermingling of races in Southeastern Europe. It should be noted that the earlier interest in this part of Asia was largely due to political and religious considerations. All this will serve as a background for a formulation of what is known in history as the Eastern or Near Eastern Question.

This should be stated if possible in the form of the "question" or "questions" which confronted Europe as the result of conditions within this region. Their origin should be noted and the territorial, racial, national, religious and cultural problems which they involved. Follow, step by step, developments in the Near East from 1815 on, noting how much more important they become after 1870, and why; the special phases or aspects of the question which they brought to the fore with the passing of time; and the various attempts to solve the Near Eastern question, with the progress attained in each case, recognizing the crisis represented by the events of 1877-78, 1908-9 and of 1912-13. The gradual shrinking of the area controlled by the Turks should be formulated as a map problem, and the newer phases of the question resulting from these map changes should be thoroughly grasped, e. g., the rivalries between these small states and their differences in race, language, and ideals. 1914 should be regarded as marking a distinct stage in Near Eastern history.

##### 17. THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA

1. Its resources and population.
2. Contacts between Europe and Africa before 1880—the period of the missionary and the explorer.
3. The period of its appropriation, 1880-1914.
  - a. European holdings about 1880 and their significance.
  - b. Formation of the Congo Free State.
    - 1) The International African Association.
    - 2) The Conference of Berlin, 1884-1885.
    - 3) Enterprises of King Leopold.
    - 4) Annexation to Belgium, 1908.
  - c. England in Egypt.
    - 1) Intervention of England and France.
    - 2) Revolt of Arabi Pasha and withdrawal of France, 1882.
    - 3) Loss and recovery of the Soudan.
  - d. The appearance of Germany and Italy as colonial powers.

- 1) The Germans in East Africa and in South-west Africa.
- 2) Italian efforts on the Red Sea and in Somaliland.
- 3) Acquisition of Tripoli, 1912.
- e. England in South and Central Africa.
  - 1) Cecil Rhodes and the extension of English influence.
  - 2) The Boer War (1899-1902) and the reorganization of South Africa.
- f. French interests and acquisitions.
  - 1) Occupation of Tunis.
  - 2) Conquest of Madagascar.
  - 3) The French in the Niger basin.
  - 4) The Morocco question.
- g. The great railway projects in Africa.

#### Suggestions

The humanitarian, intellectual and scientific interest displayed in Africa at the opening of this new expansion period (about 1870) should be stressed and the influence upon Africa of the industrial revolution in its various manifestations, e. g., the demand for raw materials and larger markets occasioned by large-scale production. A clear-cut line of division should be recognized between developments in Africa before 1880 and the progress of events after this date. A careful study should be made of its resources and the population in order that the use made of the continent and the difficulties to be overcome may be more apparent. This should be followed by a comparative map study, noting what holdings Europe had in 1884 and what holdings the powers of Europe had in 1914, with the reasons for the prominence of some and the absence of others, and the existence of unappropriated portions. This will serve to bring out the important facts of the period from 1880 to 1914. The attempts to regulate the relations between Africa and the outside world by international action should not be overlooked, e. g., the Berlin Conference, the various agreements between France and England, the Algéciras Conference, etc.

#### 18. RUSSIA AND THE AWAKENING OF THE FAR EAST

1. The population and resources of Asia.
2. The expansion of Russia eastward.
  - a. Occupation and colonization of Siberia.
  - b. Conquest of Turkestan.
  - c. Railroad building—the Trans-Siberian.
  - d. Russian interests in Persia.
  - e. Russian interests in China.
3. The English in India.
  - a. Extension of British influence to 1856.
  - b. The Sepoy Mutiny and its results.
  - c. Clashing of English and Russian interests in Central Asia—Russophobia.
4. The opening of Japan and her expansion westward.
  - a. The opening of Japan to the western world.
    - 1) The dual control—Shogun and Mikado.
    - 2) Perry's visit and its consequences.
  - b. The Revolution in Japan, 1868-1890.
    - 1) Overthrow of the Shogunate.
    - 2) Overthrow of feudalism, 1871.
    - 3) Formation of a constitution, 1890.
  - c. Japanese interests in Korea and the mainland.
5. The Chino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the consequences.
  - a. Relations between China and the West to 1894.
    - 1) The Opium War.
    - 2) Treaty of Tientsin, 1860.
    - 3) Concessions and annexations—French China.
  - b. China and Korea.
  - c. Defeat of China and interference of the powers.
  - d. Foreign aggressions and the Boxer uprising, 1900.
6. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.
  - a. Conflicting interests of Russia and Japan in the East.
  - b. Japan's great victories.
  - c. Results.
    - 1) Territorial changes—the withdrawal of Russia

- from Manchuria and the annexation of Korea.
- 2) The reform movement in China and the establishment of the republic.

#### Suggestions

The resources and population of Asia should be studied to explain the nature of its later contacts with Europe. The ancient character of its civilization and its contributions to world progress should be contrasted with similar conditions in Africa.

A map study contrasting the holdings of the various European nations about 1870 or 1890 with the situation in 1914 will prepare the student for an understanding of the chief factors to be considered. There were three of these—Russia, England and Japan. In each case the conditions responsible for this should be brought out. Note how Russia had been pushing steadily eastwards since the middle of the 17th century like a great inundation, threatening not only the countries to the east, but the lands to the south. Note how England had secured a commanding position in India in the middle of the 18th century and how she had improved upon this, recasting her policy in part as a result of the Great Mutiny. Note, finally, what a big factor Japan becomes as the result of her awakening, due in part to Perry's visit. Note the wonderful transformation she experienced in the generation following the fall of the Shogunate.

The Chino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War should be studied as events upon which developments in the Far East between 1894-1914 largely pivot. Note, therefore, what leads up to each of these struggles, their far-reaching consequences, and the relationship which one war bears to the other. An effort should be made to formulate the question or questions which Europe has had to solve as the outgrowth of the changes there, noting to what extent they have shaped the spread and growth of democracy throughout the world.

#### IX

#### THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN ADVANCING DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY, 1870-1914

19. THE MAINTENANCE OF AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY AND RUSSIA, 1870-1914
  1. Factors in the struggle between democracy and autocracy.
    - a. Militarism and the burden of armaments.
    - b. Nationalistic strivings.
    - c. Relations between church and state.
    - d. Free trade or protection.
    - e. Illiteracy.
    - f. Spread of socialism and appearance of socialist parties.
  2. The preponderance of Germany in Europe and the maintenance of the imperial power.
    - a. The rule of Bismarck.
      - 1) His European alliances and their effect upon Germany.
      - 2) Bismarck and the social democrats.
    - b. The rule of William II.
      - 1) The fall of Bismarck.
      - 2) Aims and policies of William II.
    - c. Strength and weakness of Germany in 1914.
  3. Autocracy in Russia and the struggle for representative government.
    - a. Russian government and society in 1815.
    - b. The autocracy of Nicholas I, 1825-1855.
    - c. The emancipation of the Serfs and the Nihilist movement, 1855-1881.
    - d. Alexander III and the reaction towards absolutism, 1881-1894.
      - 1) Influence and policies of Pobedonostev.
      - 2) Policy of Russification in Finland and Poland.
    - e. Nicholas II and the struggle for representative government, 1894-1914.
      - 1) Effects of the Industrial Revolution, and the war with Japan.
      - 2) The Duma and its work.
      - 3) Russia at the outbreak of the Great War.



## Suggestions

The struggle between advancing democracy and autocracy represents another aspect of the period preceding the outbreak of the Great War and should be closely related to the expansion phase of these forty-odd years, noting how, while the various states of Europe were interested in extending their power and influence over Asia and Africa, they were at the same time undergoing or resisting influences tending toward a more democratic order of society and of government within their boundaries. It would be well to note how profoundly their external policy influenced their internal development, e. g., in the case of Russia. The forces at work, which were common to every country, should be discussed as they made for a greater measure of democracy, or tended to thwart the strivings of the people towards a greater power of self-expression. It should be noted to what extent those forces were shaping the two outstanding bulwarks of autocracy, Germany and Russia. Note the strength and weakness of the German imperial system and the way it served the ends of its rulers, making Prussia and its ruler the embodiment of the aspirations of the entire German people.

The thread of Russia's internal development should be picked up after the Napoleonic wars in order that the student may appreciate how slowly the empire of the Tsars changed its autocratic character. Note the influence of the wars in which it participated upon these developments, notably the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

The potency of militarism in Germany will be more apparent if an effort is made to link together closely the history of this country before 1870 with its progress since. The same would hold true in the study of illiteracy and the peasant problem in Russia. The land problem should be stressed in connection with the struggle for representative government in Russia.

## 20. THE ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY, 1870-1914

1. The decline of monarchism in France and the establishment of the Third Republic.
  - a. The overthrow of the Paris Commune.
  - b. The government of Thiers.
  - c. Framing the constitution—the influence of Gambetta.
  - d. The menace of Boulangerism.
  - e. The Panama Canal scandals.
  - f. France in 1914 and its outlook.
2. The spread of constitutional government and the extension of the suffrage.
  - a. The establishment of the constitutional monarchy in Spain and its problems.
  - b. Electoral reform in Austria and the Compromise of 1907.
  - c. Extension of the suffrage in Sweden and the North.
  - d. The suffrage question in the Latin south.
  - e. The Turkish Revolution, 1908.
3. The downfall of the monarchy in Portugal, 1910.
4. The triumph of nationality in Norway, 1906.
5. The extension of democracy in England in the 20th century and the Irish question.
  - a. Extension of the suffrage under Disraeli and Gladstone.
  - b. The Irish question and the attempts at its solution.
    - 1) The land problem.
    - 2) The church problem.
    - 3) The home rule problem.
    - 4) Situation in 1914.
  - c. Lloyd George and the reform of parliament.
6. The movement for the separation of Church and State.
  - a. The Kulturkampf in Germany.
  - b. The separation of Church and State in France, 1905-1906.
  - c. Relation of the Church to the government in Italy—Leo XIII and Pius X.
  - d. Disestablishment in the United Kingdom.
    - 1) In Ireland.
    - 2) In Wales.
  - e. Conditions in Spain and Portugal.

7. The spread of socialism and the increase of social legislation.

- a. Schools of socialists.
- b. Bismarck and German socialism.
- c. Social legislation in England.
- d. The socialist parties and their influence.

8. Interest in education and in intellectual progress.
9. The emancipation of women.

## Suggestions

The greater potency and effectiveness of the forces making for democracy in other parts of Europe are illustrated by these lines of development, some of which should be stressed as characteristic of individual countries, while others should be considered in the light of general movements towards a more advanced democratic order. Note the struggle in France to throw off the shackles of monarchism, as illustrated by the movements which followed the close of the struggle with Germany; the relation thereto of the struggle between church and state; and the extent of which France was swayed by militarism. Note the general progress toward constitutional governments and a greater participation on the part of the people in governmental affairs, with its explanation; the widening of the franchise in England as the result of the later reform bills and the pressure exerted upon the government by the working classes, and the modification of the English parliamentary system of government in connection with the struggle over taxation and social legislation. The Irish question should be regarded as a movement essentially democratic in its nature. Attention should be drawn to the complexity of the problem and its roots in the past in the early relations between England and Ireland.

A separate treatment of the relations between church and state and the progress of socialism and socialistic teachings will serve to emphasize the unity of the period and will enable the student to contrast developments in the different states, noting the actual progress attained in particular cases. No effort should be made to cover these developments in detail. The progress attained in the different states should be used merely to illustrate the nature and scope of these democratic movements without attempting anything like an exhaustive analysis.

## X

## IMPERIALISM AND THE WORLD WAR

## 21. THE GREAT COLONIAL POWERS AND THEIR WORLD INTERESTS

1. The Great Powers and their possessions.
2. Forms of control and methods of administration.
  - a. The colony, dependency, protectorate and sphere of influence.
  - b. Growth of federation in the British Empire.
3. Problems involved.
4. Influence of colonies upon internal development and the European situation—European rivalries.
  - a. The Triple Alliance; objects and membership.
  - b. The Triple Entente and the scope of its influence.
5. The peace movement.
  - a. The Great Powers and the secret of their strength.
  - b. The Hague conferences and the growth of arbitration.

## Suggestions

As a background for an understanding of the Great War a study should be made of a world map in 1914, noting the extent of territory controlled by the various nations, the nature of this control and the problems it involved, especially as they had to do with the maintenance of world peace. In this connection, note the circumstances which gave rise to the formation of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, especially those which had to do with the expansion of their influence over colonies and dependencies. Note to what extent imperialism was a dominating factor in fixing their relations to each other and to the world at large. Note the factors which were making for world peace and those which seemed to threaten war. The period from 1870 to 1914 is sometimes referred to as that of the "armed peace" due to the alignment of

the great powers in the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Attention should be directed to the influence exerted by these two groupings in the preservation of peace and in maintaining Europe on a stable peace footing.

## 22. GERMAN IMPERIALISM AND THE WORLD WAR, 1914-1918

1. Germany's struggle for world leadership.
  - a. "Prussianism" and the Pan-German program.
  - b. The conflict of alliances in Morocco and its significance.
    - 1) The Algeiras Conference.
    - 2) The Agadir incident.
  - c. The Berlin-Bagdad railway and the "Middle Europe" project.
  - d. Germany's interest in developments in the Balkans, 1908-1913.
  - e. Austrian aims and Germany's relations with Austria.
  - f. Rivalry between Germany and England.
  - g. War preparations.
2. The outbreak of war.
  - a. The Austro-Serbian controversy.
  - b. The failure of diplomacy.
  - c. The violation of Belgian neutrality.
3. The progress of the struggle, 1914-1917 (April).
  - a. The powers involved; their military and naval strength.
  - b. New methods of warfare.
  - c. The war theatres.
  - d. The campaigns in the West and their significance.
    - 1) The dash toward Paris and the first battle of the Marne, September 6-10, 1914.
    - 2) Verdun, 1916.
    - 3) The Somme, 1916.
  - e. The eastern war theatre.
    - 1) Battles of Tannenberg (1914) and the Masurian Lakes (1915).
    - 2) Russian campaigns in Galicia and Bukovina (1916).
    - 3) German conquest of Poland, 1915.
    - 4) Conquest of Serbia, 1915.
    - 5) The crushing of Rumania, 1916.
  - f. The campaigns in Turkey.
    - 1) Gallipoli, 1915-1916.
    - 2) The Russian invasion of Armenia, 1916.
    - 3) The British in Mesopotamia and Palestine, 1916-1917.
  - g. The struggle in Italy—the advance on Trieste.
  - h. The capture of Tsingtau by the Japanese, 1914.
  - i. The loss of Germany's colonies.
  - j. The war on the sea.
    - 1) The war zones.
    - 2) The Lusitania, 1915.
    - 3) The battle of Jutland, 1916.
4. The entrance of the United States (April, 1917), and the collapse of the Central Powers, 1917-1918.
  - a. America's struggle to maintain neutrality.
  - b. Reasons for the American declaration of war.
  - c. Situation in April, 1917.
    - 1) The Russian Revolution, March, 1917.
    - 2) The German retirement to the "Hindenburg line."
    - 3) The German drive.
  - d. Changing "War Aims."
  - e. Interallied co-operation.
    - 1) The interallied conference.
    - 2) The appointment of Foch.
  - f. Austro-German invasion of Italy, 1917-1918.
  - g. The second battle of the Marne, 1918.
  - h. Withdrawal of Bulgaria, 1918 (September 30).
  - i. The battle of the Piave.
  - j. The elimination of Turkey and Austro-Hungary.
  - k. The breaking of the Hindenburg line.
  - l. Responsibility for the success of the Allies.

5. The restoration of peace, 1916-1918.
  - a. Peace moves, 1916-1918.
  - b. The armistice with Germany, November 11, 1918.
  - c. The peace conference.
    - 1) Its problems.
    - 2) Its accomplishments.
  - d. The League of Nations and permanent peace—unsolved problems.

### Suggestions

This topic should be closely linked up with the more general topic which precedes it. Attention should be directed to the growth of a militaristic spirit within the Empire, prompting Germany to assume a domineering attitude toward her neighbors. Germany's *Weltpolitik*, her interpretation of her place in the sun, should be contrasted with the rôle played by the other great powers. Illustrations of her struggle to secure a commanding world portion among the great powers are furnished by the clash of interests in Morocco, the Middle Europe project, and her designs upon the Balkan region.

Note her jealousy of England's maritime supremacy and her ambition to secure a firmer grasp upon the markets of the world and a more commanding position on the high seas. These policies call for a review of the reign of Emperor William II. Note how and why the Balkan region became the scene of the outbreak, the countries concerned, and the nature of their interest in each case; the efforts made to preserve the peace; and the gradual spread of the conflict, as the result of the violation of Belgian neutrality.

In following the events of the war, note the two periods into which it naturally falls, as the result of the entrance of the United States. Note the vast resources of the contending nations and the changing character of the struggle due to new methods of warfare. Note its world-wide character, the many theatres of military operations with their relation one to the others, noting their relative importance in the final decision. Those battles only should be noted which mark real progress. Note the relative importance of the conflict on the sea with its influence upon American participation.

The reasons for the entrance of the United States should be carefully analyzed, noting the military and political situation in 1917. Note the gradual collapse of the central powers with the reasons for the successes attained, not overlooking the reorganization of the nations involved on a war basis which made the struggle essentially one of people against people. The peace moves which marked the last three years should be studied, as they reveal the objects sought by the nations involved, and the work of the Peace Conference should be analyzed, as it represents the attempt to apply new ideals and new principles, and place the world on a permanent peace footing through a League of Nations.

## XI.

### DEMOCRACY SINCE THE WAR AND ITS PROBLEMS, 1914

#### 23. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

1. Conditions responsible.
2. The abdication of the Tsar and the formation of a provisional government.
3. Declaration of the republic.
4. Overthrow of the Kerensky government.
5. Meeting of the Constituent Assembly and its dissolution, 1918.
6. Rule of the Bolsheviks and their relations with outside countries.

### Suggestions

Review the reasons for Russia's participation in the war as a basis for following its effects upon the people, noting the hopes and aspirations which it aroused. Note the effect upon the central government of the military failures and mismanagement; the comparatively peaceful nature of the earlier governmental changes; the weakness of the new government; the difficulties which it had to overcome; and

its downfall at the hands of the radical elements represented by the Bolsheviks. Note the break-up of the great empire into separate states, with the reasons for this disintegrating movement. Analyze again the elements entering into the formation of a stable democratic government in Russia, emphasizing the backwardness of its people and the handicaps under which they labor.

#### 24. THE ALLIES AND THE WAR

1. Influence of the war upon England and her colonies.
  - a. The conscription law of 1916.
  - b. English cabinet changes and their significance.
  - c. The Labor Party and its influence.
  - d. Educational reform.
  - e. The solidarity of the British Empire.
2. The revival of France.
  - a. Conditions at the outbreak of the war.
  - b. Governmental changes—the "defeatist" movement.
3. Influences of the war upon Italy.
  - a. Completion of her national unity.
  - b. Relations of church and state.
  - c. Development of socialism.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the effects of the war upon the people of England as they showed themselves in their attempts to adjust themselves to war conditions, with the personal sacrifices which it involved. Note the powers conferred upon the government; the effect upon the party system; and the power wielded particularly by the working classes in making the necessary adjustments. Note the response of the various parts of the empire to the danger which threatened the mother country. Note the response of France to the peril, and the transformation of French life which followed. Note the efforts of a small but influential group to bring the efforts of France to naught. Note, with reference to Italy, the extent to which the war realized the aspirations of her people; its effects upon the participation of the church in Italian politics and the power and influence wielded by socialism in *Italia Redenta* ("redeemed Italy").

#### 25. REORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

1. The overthrow of Kaiserism in Germany.
  - a. Causes and extent of the revolutionary movement.
  - b. The Spartacides and the civil war.
  - c. The National Assembly and the formation of a constitution.
  - d. Difficulties confronting the new republic.
    - 1) Attempts at counter-revolution.
    - 2) Execution of the terms of the Versailles Treaty.
    - 3) Unrest.
2. The expulsion of the Hapsburgs and the reorganization of Austro-Hungary.
  - a. Bela Kun and the Communist uprising in Hungary.
  - b. Problems before the new Austria.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note how the strain of war tended to consolidate the elements opposed to autocracy, resulting in the overthrow of the Kaiser and the setting up of a republic on constitutional lines. Note the conflict between the more radical and conservative elements and the problems confronting the new republic, especially those having to do with the execution of the peace terms and the winning of the confidence of Europe in the integrity and good faith of her people.

Note the elements into which the dual monarchy was broken up and the struggle in Hungary between the radical and moderate elements for supremacy. Note the general character of the new governments set up in Austria and Hungary.

#### 26. OTHER INFLUENCES OF THE WAR, 1914

1. The movement toward independence.
  - a. In Ireland.
  - b. In Bohemia—new state of Czecho-Slovakia.
  - c. In Poland—intrigues of the Central Powers.
  - d. In the Near East—Armenia and Arabia.
  - e. In Egypt and in India.

2. Anti-royalistic movements in the Balkans.
  - a. Abdication of Ferdinand of Bulgaria.
  - b. Dynastic changes in Greece.
3. The new states of Europe and their problems.
4. Bolshevism and its menacing aspects.
  - a. Its program and methods.
  - b. Conditions favorable to its spread.
  - c. Its adherents.

#### Suggestions

In approaching this topic the teacher should note the effect of such principles as that of self-determination and the rights of small nations upon countries like Ireland, Egypt and India. Note how the enunciation of these and other democratic ideals paved the way toward the setting up of independent states like Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Armenia and Arabia. Note the influence of the war upon the states of Southeastern Europe. Study carefully the map of Europe as fixed at Versailles, noting the boundaries of the new states, the extent to which nationality was recognized and the problems which they faced. Note, finally, the nature and influence of Bolshevism, its sources of power, and the conditions favorable to its spread.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

There has been no effort to cite page and chapter references to the books which cover these topics. The following selected list represents some of the more useful books in the field. These, however, vary considerably as to merit and usefulness. The grouping is designed to aid the teacher in finding material on specific topics, e. g., the French Revolution and Napoleon. A small tested out list is preferable to a great many titles. Books designed to aid the teacher have been marked with an x; those which offer stimulating and interesting material for the pupils with an \*.

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## HOW SHALL WE RECONSTRUCT THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM?

## AN OPEN LETTER TO PROFESSOR HENRY JOHNSON

## COMMENTING ON COMMITTEE PROCEDURE AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON HISTORY AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

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MY DEAR PROFESSOR JOHNSON:

Your address to the Secondary Education Club,<sup>1</sup> which was not debated because of the lateness of the hour, provides the occasion for an open letter on current issues in the teaching of the social sciences. I am writing in the hope of initiating a thorough discussion of needed change in the reorganizing and teaching of the social studies in our elementary and secondary schools.

<sup>1</sup> Address made by Professor Henry Johnson, on the report of the Joint Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, to the Secondary Education Club of New York City at the Faculty Club, Columbia University, February 7, 1921.

Two schools of thinking are developing with respect to the reorganization and teaching of the social studies—history, geography, civics, economics and related subjects. The first is contributed to largely by college professors of history, geography, political science, economics, and by established teachers in our larger high schools; the second by students of the school curriculum and a miscellaneous group of progressive school people, administrators and teachers. These latter are impatient with the further perpetuation of non-essential material in our public school courses, and desire to see the courses *completely* reconstructed. The first group has controlled for thirty years the reorganization of our courses. This has been done largely through committees of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society and through national and regional bodies in the field of geography, etc. I personally believe that the wide-spread adoption of reconstructed courses can be effectively brought about only by representative committees of national prestige. But, to the present time, such committees have distinctly failed to bring about scientific and relatively permanent reconstruction of the school curriculum.

For example, a careful study of the reports of the committees of the American Historical Association, since the Committee of Ten in 1892, leads to the belief that thorough reconstruction of the historical curriculum will hardly come from this group. Some gains have been made in the elimination of non-essential political details, and through the greater emphasis upon the modern periods in history as opposed to the methodical, analytical treatment of ancient times. But the fact remains that the course of study still largely fails to acquaint children with the development of current institutions and problems. And that, of course, is the avowed purpose of public school instruction in history.

The second school of workers would set up an entirely different procedure in making over the social studies curriculum. They would ignore, at least in the initial stages of curriculum-making, the content of the existent course. They would start new, set up a thorough program of principles, of criteria for subject-matter. They would conduct investigations of social needs as to what ought to be taught. They would establish careful experimental studies of most effective methods of organizing instructional material. In short they would substitute scientific, objective methods for opinionated and empirical ones.

*Need for complete reconstruction.* There can be no doubt of the need for a *complete reconstruction* of the materials of our historical curriculum. Let me illustrate. Would we not agree that the history which is taught in public schools first should deal with important current problems; second, should give children constant practice in drawing important generalizations concerning their environment and how their institutions developed, and third, should acquaint them with the established modes of living. I have recently made a careful study of the extent to which our existent curriculum in history, geography and civics deals with certain vitally important problems of contemporary life. Four of the newest and most popular grammar grade U. S. histories have been canvassed from cover to cover to determine the extent to which each of a selected group of problems was treated. The aim was

to find out whether the treatment of these problems was extensive enough that children could be expected to understand and develop an appreciation of problems of present interest. You will note that most of these problems are economic and industrial. The same conclusion follows, however, concerning the treatment of crucial social and of political matters.

I give next a list of the illustrative problems for which the books were analyzed.

1. Crucial matters of land; the history and critique of land policies; the importance of land questions in helping to explain the development of farm tenancy and the like.
2. Problems of the "market" and its historical development; railroad rates and rebates; public vs. private ownership, operation and control of railroads, terminal facilities, grain elevators, and the like.
3. The control and operation of "credit" facilities.
4. The history of labor problems; movements for the increase of co-operation between capital and labor; problems of wages, hours, living conditions.
5. The operation and control of "key" industries.
6. The development of centralization and concentration in industry and business.
7. How our distributing agencies grew—railroads, merchant marine, public utilities, agencies for communication, etc.
8. The cost of living—historical and current.
9. How the press developed its influence at various times in our growth.
10. The story of "how America developed agencies" for the formation of public opinion.
11. The history of experiments in government so organized as to give a critique of the relative fitness of various forms of government with which society has experimented to secure adequate expression of either popular opinion or most intelligent opinion.

The investigation supplies data for the conclusion that commonly used textbooks in history provide such a meagre treatment of these crucial problems (many of them ignored altogether) that a grasp of these vital economic and industrial matters and of their historical backgrounds, is *totally impossible*.

As early as 1916 Professor Bagley and I published a report of a tabulation of the contents of 23 United States histories.<sup>2</sup> This report showed that American history always has been and still is predominately political and militaristic history. It showed too that a perceptibly heavier emphasis is laid upon facts of economic and industrial developments in the more recent books. However, five years after, we find such an inadequate treatment of vital current matters that it is little wonder that children who leave our schools at the end of the eighth or ninth grades are thoroughly unacquainted with, and have little or no appreciation of the outstanding economic, social and industrial "laws" and the great problems of contemporary social life. You can expect to see a vigorous and constructive attempt on the part of students of the curriculum ("education" men) to take an active part in the recon-

<sup>2</sup> Bagley, W. C., and Rugg, H. O., *The Content of American History as Taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades*. Bulletin No. 16. University of Illinois, School of Education, Urbana, Illinois, p. 59.

struction of the social studies curriculum. That activity is going to move emphatically in the direction of putting into the curriculum a thoroughly new type of material. To accomplish this, this group of workers is convinced that a new method of making the curriculum must be employed. The title of this article and the above introduction points to the first great issue between the two schools of thinking, on which I am commenting.

*Armchair Opinion Versus Scientific Method in the Reconstruction of the Social Studies.* The curriculum has been devised to the present time by what we may term committee procedure. To the present time it has been a method of the most unscientific sort. The method has exhibited an armchair philosophy and in it the opinion and apriori judgment of a small group of specialists in subject-matter have predominated. I shall ask the editor of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK to publish a careful study of the personnel, methods and recommendations of each committee of the American Historical Association since the Committee of Ten in 1892, which will completely substantiate these statements. Details cannot be given in this letter, space in which must be devoted to other matters.

*Lack of a program for curriculum-making.* Contrasted with such a method it is feasible at the present time for us to reconstruct the curriculum by more objective and scientific means. First and foremost, we must rest all our work on a definite program for procedure. This seems to me precisely the most serious defect in the procedure of the New Committee of Eight—the complete omission of a program. We felt in hearing your address, and I have been confirmed after a careful reading of your report in the April issue of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, that although the committee has recommended specific materials for each of the school grades, yet no criteria are given by which we can measure the validity of the materials which they have selected. They do not state specifically *why* various courses are presented, *why* particular materials are to be presented in the different grades, or *why* they are organized as they are within the different grades.

This is precisely the vulnerable point in the entire procedure which historians have employed in making the course of study since the Committee of Ten in 1892. I have recently made an exhaustive study of the procedure of all the national committees in history and in the other social studies beginning with the Committee of Ten. In no one of these reports is there stated definitely a scheme of criteria against which the validity of subject-matter can be checked. They all make recommendations as to the materials to be taught—*nation and period to be studied—but no fundamental discussion of the basis of selection and of the placement of materials is given.*

This, the curriculum maker today regards as an essential first-step, and he feels that "committees" should be estopped from recommending materials without a complete statement of criteria and organizing principles and before the materials have had a controlled and *measured* trial in a considerable number of public schools. The student of the curriculum takes the stand that committees of educational associations are doing more harm than good when they recommend courses of study before those courses of study have been thoroughly experimented upon. Furthermore, this does not mean mere trial with a few classes by

the authors of this report, so that it is known that given materials *can* be taught in particular grades and by the recommended methods. Rather, it means *controlled and measured experimentation*, objective measured results obtained from a considerable number of schools.

#### WHAT IS A SCIENTIFIC PROGRAM FOR CURRICULUM MAKING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES?

I am publishing in the next issue of the *Elementary School Journal* a complete statement of what I regard as a sound program. I will abbreviate that program here, enumerating the steps. Lack of space will prevent me from giving important fuller discussion.

*A committee can improve school practise largely by acting in three capacities. First, as a deliberative body of specialists—as specialists in the validity of subject-matter, but also as specialists in the science of curriculum-making.* As such a body it should set up educational aims and definite criteria for the selection and arrangement of subject-matter against which it measures each item proposed for the curriculum. In the *second* place the committee should *set up a complete investigational program.* It should substitute objective analyses of human needs and activities for opinion as to what children need to be taught. More specifically I believe it should do the following things: (1) It should determine the exact status of the present teaching of history and related subjects in our public schools—it should set forth the aims and scope of the courses, time allotments, and make detailed analyses of the textbooks and reference books used. (2) It should evaluate critically and constructively the scientific investigations of curriculum-making in social studies which are already available, either published or unpublished. (3) It should make and publish an exhaustive analysis and interpretation of representative examples of "experimental" or innovating courses. (4) It should test by standardized measures of attainment results obtained from the study of history and the related subjects as now taught. (5) Most important of all, it should make scientific investigations of what ought to be taught in our schools. (Examples are given in the article to which I referred.)

Now, as an investigational body it appears that the Committee of Eight has failed completely. So far as reported, no investigations of any kind have been made. Materials have been selected and recommended for teaching in the public schools of America without an objective and basic analysis of economic, industrial and social life.

*Third, the committee should act as a great clearing house and as a forum,* stimulating controversial discussion of both its own and other proposed programs. After some years of debate, clear thinking and experimentation will make possible a wide-spread agreement on fundamental matters. It is safe to conclude that this committee, although it has given much publicity to its report, has not secured a real exchange of views or constructive criticisms.

*Finally, the committee should act as a continuing body.* It should study the application of its recommendations in public schools; collect reactions of school people, and test results obtained. Since the committee has been discharged this, of course, cannot be done. A new standing committee has been appointed by the American Historical Association, of which you are chairman. I would urge upon your committee the fundamental importance of inaugurat-



ing a movement for the scientific study of curriculum-making in history and related subjects.

*The committee's report is a set of hypothetical programs by individuals.* Probably the most significant comment one can make of this report of the Joint Committee on History and Education for Citizenship is that it is a set of hypothetical programs by individuals. Your own scheme has been employed by the committee for the first eight grades, the outlines and materials organized recently by Professor Shafer and Miss Morehouse for the ninth grade, Dr. Knowlton's material for the tenth. Thus, the course recommended for each grade is the program of a single worker, not the carefully matured recommendations of a great body of historians and educators. As hypothetical programs I regard your suggestions for the first eight grades as important. I am convinced that we should give them careful consideration. But, at the same time, we should be clear that they are largely hypotheses concerning what we ought to teach and how we ought to arrange the material. They are not courses experimentally tried, the consideration of evidence concerning which has led to their wide-spread recommendation by historians and students of the school curriculum.

#### ON WHAT BASES SHALL MATERIAL BE INCLUDED IN THE CURRICULUM?

*We have before us, then, the first issue: Shall we use a scientific method in the reconstruction of the curriculum?* Can sound and permanent reconstruction come in any other way? How can we determine soundly what materials to teach our children in this important and intangible field of social activities unless we sweep the board clean and start new, setting up carefully thought-out hypotheses of selection of material, which are based upon the principle of social worth. My own procedure would be to ignore the fact that we have today a curriculum in history, geography and civics; start afresh and define clearly the scope, functions and objectives of the course by this criterion of "social worth." This criterion necessitates that to be included in the course the material must contribute: (1) To a grasp of the great economic, social and political relationships or "laws"; (2) to an understanding of established modes of living; (3) to an interest in and appreciation of the outstanding "problems" and "issues" of contemporary civilization. If this is done, a considerable body of material will be included that now forms part of our social studies curriculum; we will include very much that is not now in the course and we will eliminate fully one-half, probably more than half, of the administrative and political content in current courses.

To illustrate such a procedure I shall publish during the next year some half-dozen studies made during the past year and a half. These studies consist of careful analyses of nationally used histories, geographies and civics books—some 40 altogether. They include also investigations of the units of material which outstanding thinkers in economics, politics, social reform and industry would include in the curriculum which is to be required of all boys and girls through, say, the ninth grade. Elaborate statistical analyses of allusions found in representative newspapers and magazines will also be reported. The study referred to in an earlier paragraph, of the extent to which our curriculum deals with important problems of contemporary life, will be published in full. Finally,

a report will be made of an investigation of what the great frontier thinkers of the day regard as the outstanding economic, industrial, social and political "problems" of contemporary civilization. In its endeavor to construct a sound curriculum, our own research group is turning to the writings of these leading thinkers. From some 70 books on politics, industry, economics, anthropology, sociology and the like—many published since the armistice—statements are being made of these problems and issues.

Such investigations as these after several years of scientific work should enable us to put together a course of study that will stand the most rigorous tests of social value. It is our thesis that the existing curriculum and in a large part the one proposed by the Joint Committee on History and Education for Citizenship will not pass such tests of social validity. Certainly, the committee should set forth its program for curriculum-making—that is, the basic principles of selection and organization of material in order that school people may critically test it.

By this illustration I have tried to show how a scientific program for curriculum-making makes use of the criterion of social worth. The crux of the matter is that we need investigations, not opinion.

#### ON WHAT PRINCIPLES SHALL THE CURRICULUM BE GRADED AND ORGANIZED?

So much for the content of the curriculum. What about the organization, grade placement of materials and arrangement within the grades? The New Committee of Eight has stated no criteria for these important matters. Yet materials are assigned to grades and illustrations are given of methods of presenting material, which appear to me to be at variance with conclusions of psychological validity.

*Two distinct issues face us here.* The first deals with the division of material into school subjects. The second, with important matters of presenting informational subject-matter and of providing adequate practice in analytical thinking.

*One composite social studies course versus three or more separate subjects.* We are dealing, in this matter, with two different problems, one the imperative need of cutting down the number of school subjects, the other an urgent pedagogical and psychological need of insuring that teachers will teach in close relationship all materials which are related in character. As for the former, I am confident that we shall see in the near future the wide-spread demand for fewer school subjects. *More activity on the part of children, but fewer compartments in the curriculum is an impressive need.*

Next let us consider the task of providing that untrained teachers, teaching large classes of children who exhibit very wide individual differences, shall bring into close relationship materials which are related. I am setting up the hypothesis that *it is more in accord with the way in which children learn to teach related materials in one body of subject-matter than in separate compartments on "subjects."* *One subject rather than three is the high point in our theory.* This hypothesis is close to the aim of the old correlation movement. That movement failed, I conclude, for three reasons: (1) For want of systematic supervision of teaching; (2) because our elementary school teachers were, and are, so untrained in both subject-matter and in the psychology of learning that they are unable to do more

than to stick to the thread and detail of the textbooks and organized reference material which their pupils read; (3) because there were no systems of textbooks in which the "correlation" was worked out.

Rather than have teachers attempt the almost impossible task of "correlating" history, geography, civics, economics and sociology (taught as separate subjects), we postulate that more effective outcomes will be secured by weaving together lesson by lesson the facts, movements, conditions, principles and social, economic and political "laws" that depend upon one another and that can be fully comprehended only when they are woven together. From one point of view this is "merging history, geography and civics." True enough, in the product of such instruction it is very difficult to distinguish what is history from what is geography, and in turn from other subjects. But if we consider more carefully we will see that this procedure is not *merging* the school subjects at all. It is not "correlated" or "combined" or "fused" social science (to borrow terms from the recent movement in mathematics and science). Rather, it is a whole new and scientific technic of making courses of study by building from the ground up. It ignores the content of current courses in its initial stages at least.

*How shall we present information and provide for practice in generalization?* I proceed next to other important problems in organization; namely, those of assigning subject-matter to grades, of providing adequate practice through repetition of principles and facts, of giving pupils a clear grasp of information, and of stimulating the interests of children through providing human detail. The problem can be made clear by stating definitely two questions which need to be answered. *First*, how shall information be acquired by pupils? *Second*, how can we accomplish our purpose of training pupils in the power of judgment, teaching them to draw generalizations, to form sound conclusions.

It is regrettable that in 1921, after thirty years of development in the science of psychology, we have practically no evidence upon which to make up a detailed "psychology of the school subjects." We must frankly say today that we do not know what historical and social materials should be taught in the different grades of our public schools. Indeed, it seems that the most intelligent conclusion that we can draw at the present time is that no one scheme of organization can be proven to be the best. Certainly no one scheme available today has been proven to be so.

#### CURRENT METHODS OF ORGANIZING SOCIAL STUDIES MATERIAL

Investigation will show that there are at least five different methods of organizing social studies material now employed in our public schools. The first, and most typical, is to organize history by periods, by nation and epoch to be studied, and geography by continents, regions and topics. We assign American history to the close of the Revolution to one grade; that from 1783 to date to another grade; medieval history, from 800 to the French Revolution, to another grade; American history from 1609, perhaps, to still another. The significant fact is, however, that no collection of results which is obtained from such an organization has been made to show the relative worth of this method.

*A second method* of organization is to classify subject-matter in accordance with human needs and human activities which satisfy them. With this scheme one would recognize such units as: physical needs and resources, human resources, industrial and governmental organization and the like. This has been done in devising such courses as the Speyer school scheme, the material having been assigned to four subjects, history, geography, economics and industrial arts. The material has been organized around a threefold scheme of food, shelter and clothing. In each grade the material is presented under these three captions, with industrial arts as the correlating subject.

*A third method* of grading and organizing materials, and one which makes use of the needs and activities of people, has been to assign the work of each grade to different kinds of activities. For example, a part of the year is devoted to industrial life, another part to a discussion of the composition of the people, a third deals with crucial physical needs, a fourth with matters of government, etc.

*A fourth method* of organizing the curriculum might be called the family-community-nation-world scheme. It has been suggested (more recently by your Joint Committee of Eight) that material be organized on a basis of the size of the social group of which the child may be regarded as the center. The arrangements of such material in the primary grades of American schools is chiefly on this family-community basis. Apparently, this is in accord with the best psychology that we know today. The basis of the work in these lower grades is made up of excursions, observations and much activity. In the family and in the local community it is physically possible to organize instruction helpfully on this basis. Beyond the local community, since excursions and traveling are prohibited for our public school grades, and since we must resort to pictures, lantern slides, motion pictures and reading, then the notion that we must gradually expand the social group, to include, first, the nation and then the world, probably breaks down. Perhaps, however, some form of the family-community organization of material should be used in which, from the fourth grade up, material is woven together into the course which will help children to understand their present environments, *irrespective of physical location or time location*. That is, by a sufficiently concrete illustration, either the remote or the near in time or place can be made intelligible. The proposed curriculum of the New Committee of Eight is in large part based upon this family-community-nation-world scheme. I think, however, one can discern the use of another principle of organization.

This is a *fifth method*; namely, that of using great principles upon which social life is based as the guiding themes of organization. It has been suggested, for example, that great social principles, like cooperation, ideas of liberty, provision for individual initiative under current methods of social organization should be used to determine the assignment of subject-matter to various grades. After carefully determining concrete situations for our different levels these great notions can be taught. A suggested principle of grade placement is therefore that of preparing a list of these great social principles and of selecting subject-matter which will contribute to understand them, and of assigning to various grades situations which will con-



tribute to this understanding, the level of the discussion being adapted to the learning of the children.

#### ANOTHER BASIS OF ORGANIZING SOCIAL STUDIES MATERIAL

I wish to suggest a new basis for organizing social studies material. Aside from the development of important attitudes, probably the most essential outcome to be looked for from the study of history and related subjects is a clear grasp of the great economic, social and political "laws," movements, causal relations. We are primarily interested to train pupils, through years of practice, in meeting thinking situations, to see causal relations, to compare and analyze complex situations; in brief, to understand the great "laws." The crux of human thinking is the ability to see relations clearly. Our training needs center on analysis, on comparison, on selective thinking. If this be true, is it not necessary to set up as the great outcome from teaching the ability to understand and to express the great "laws" in the fields of economics, and industry and in social and political life.

Working on this principle one finds a criterion for the organization of factual material in the social studies. It is to employ in each grade those factual situations which will contribute year by year to a growing appreciation and understanding of the great central generalizations in each of these fields. It is one of the chief defects of our historical, geographical and civic instruction that the course has consisted largely of the encyclopedic presentation of facts, with little or no emphasis upon application of these facts to the understanding of great fundamental relationships. We have preached the latter, but our practice has failed to keep pace with the theory. This other point of view would maintain that the task in no grade is the mere giving of information. The real task is the presentation of concrete situations, with such generalizations, comparisons, emphasis upon interrelations and causal connections, that relationships will begin to stand out even in the lower grades—grosser ones first, their refinement developing only with the higher grades.

But the second problem is as important as the first; namely, *how shall we give sufficient practice in thinking to develop a real power of thought?* One of the chief hypotheses underlying my own curriculum research in the social studies is that *in order for children to be able to generalize in handling social situations, they must have constant practice in generalization.* In order for them to understand great movements, they must be faced constantly with such movements and practice continually in interpreting them.

In order for them to understand causal connections, they must deal with them each day of their school career. In our experimentation, we present big, broad movements, relations, causal connections, in constantly recurring but varied situations in the attempt to develop a rich, interpretative background. We believe that information should be acquired in this way—that is, by gradual accretion, by the accumulative recurrence of primary facts in greatly varied situations. In our work, therefore, we deliberately present great relationships in the class discussion day after day, believing that for them to be permanently mastered, a pupil must see them illustrated in many diversified settings. Thus, *repetition* of causes, big movements, relations, is imperative to bring about real mastery. *Repetition*, to be effective, must involve the making of many inter-

connections—not mere drill upon isolated topics, events, conditions, personages, etc.

To provide adequately for thinking and practice in *thought*, we believe it is necessary to do two things which our present textbooks and recommendations of committees do not do: *First*, definitely organize our courses around problems, relations, causes and effects; in brief, around the great "laws"; *second*, make these relationships recur in many school grades and so frequently within a school grade that mastery steadily grows, both of "laws" and the information contributory to them. How far this principle of organization will carry us only the experimentation of the next few years will show. Whether it will be necessary to repeat these "laws" and causal connections in each grade, *i. e.*, whether we must adopt some form of "layer" organization, remains to be seen.

But the important point is this: repetition of "laws" and facts must be provided for and this is in distinct opposition to the present practice of organizing the history curriculum. Chronological sequence opposes "problem" or unitary organization. Fact-giving predominates over problem-solving as an organizing principle. Arranging history by "periods" and "years" holds forth over scientifically determined repetition of fundamentals. Encyclopedism and paragraphic treatment in text-making render impossible the grasp and retention of vital principles of human relationship, which depend for mastery on wealth of detail and human interest, and upon adequate repetition. *Practice in thought is necessary to develop power of thought.*

#### NEED FOR A NEW TYPE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE WITH A SCIENTIFIC PROGRAM

*What can a committee confidently recommend, then, with respect to these intricate problems of grade placement and organization of subject-matter?* My answer is: "*Nothing, at the present time.*" The only sound course a committee can take now is to initiate careful experimentation upon several proposed schemes of organizations. The psychological experimentation of the past thirty years has contributed certain fundamental laws of learning which certainly can be recognized, and to which one should conform. The most promising lead, it appears, would be to draw up hypotheses concerning methods of organizing and presenting material which are based upon known laws of learning, and set up detailed and carefully controlled and measured experiments to determine their validity.

In the meantime, let us get underway an important movement for scientifically determining the content and arrangement of the social studies curricula. Furthermore, let us begin now to look forward to three to five years from now, when we may have the appointment of a different type of committee—a national committee, which will set up a procedure on the order of that discussed at the beginning of this article, which will be adequately financed and permitted to employ two or more high-grade secretaries, who are active professional workers in the field. In the meantime, let us refuse a hearing to any group of workers appointed by a national association which brings forward recommendations concerning what materials should be taught or in what grades and by what methods, unless that group presents a complete, scientifically-founded program and thorough-going evidence to support its recommendation.



## A National Council for the Social Studies

The wider introduction of the social studies—history, government, economics, sociology and related subjects—into the public schools demands the united efforts of all persons interested in training for citizenship. Social studies should be made the core of the curriculum, because an intelligent understanding of society, its modes of living, relationships and problems is the most essential kind of training that elementary and secondary school pupils need.

In the past twenty-five years many national and regional associations and committees have recommended history, civic, economic and sociology courses for the schools. At present there are ten distinct committees representing the above fields, each of which recommends certain social study material to be taught. In most cases, each of these associations and committees has worked independently of the others. The result is a lack of agreement as to what subject matter should be taught, even among those specially qualified to decide. To obtain the cooperation of these groups and all others interested in promoting the social studies in the schools a National Council for Teachers of Social Studies was organized March 3, 1921, at the Atlantic City meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association.

The purpose of the Council, as stated in the temporary constitution, adopted for one year, until permanent organization can be perfected, is "to bring about the association and cooperation of teachers of social studies—history, government, economics, sociology, etc.—and of administrators, supervisors, teachers of education and all others interested in obtaining maximum results in education for citizenship through the social studies."

The first object of the Council is to enroll as active members all persons in sympathy with the above purpose, whether they be teachers of the social sciences, administrators, supervisors or college teachers of education. The membership fee is set at one (\$1.00) dollar per year. A temporary Executive Committee of Eight is created by this constitution to determine permanent organization and to carry on the business of the Council during the year. The four officers elected at the preliminary meeting were: President, A. E. McKinley, Managing Editor of *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-President, R. M. Tryon, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Secretary-Treasurer, Edgar Dawson, Hunter College, New York City; Assistant Secretary, E. U. Rugg, Horace Mann School of Teachers' College, New York City. These officers were empowered to choose four other members to act with them as the Executive Committee for this year. An Advisory Board of fifteen members also will assist in the organization (these names will be published shortly in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*).

In the near future this Executive Committee plans to inaugurate a monthly Department of Social Studies in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*. In this section concrete materials of instruction, suggestions for the improvement of the social science curriculum and new methods for presentation of such studies will be published. An annual Yearbook of similar concrete material is also being considered. If a sufficient number support the Council at \$1.00 per

year, this latter publication can be issued this coming year. If it materializes, the program of the annual meeting of the Council might well be devoted to a discussion of the articles appearing in the Yearbook. In that event, such a publication should be placed in the hands of the members several weeks in advance of this meeting. Thus, each member could read in advance the papers to be presented, and would, thereby, be better prepared to take part in the discussion. Therefore, this publication depends upon the number of persons who will support the Council. For example, 1000 members at \$1.00 per year will permit the publication of 100 to 150 pages of material. The National Society for the Study of Education has for twenty years published this type of practical Yearbook for a \$1.00 membership fee. It now embraces about 300 pages annually. The material in it has been of great importance in improving educational practice. Such things as the four reports of the Committee on Economy of Time, as well as important monographs of educational interest, illustrate what their Yearbook does for the advancement of education in this country. One thousand members as a start the first year is not very ambitious for the Social Studies Council. The Mathematics Council, organized February, 1920, has nearly two thousand members now, and the English Council has about five thousand. This latter organization, particularly through its official organ, the *English Journal*, has been tremendously influential in shaping the teaching of English in the schools. Thus, membership in the new Social Studies Council will bring you the up-to-date, concrete, experimental materials of instruction in the field through the Yearbook. Also, through *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* you can further keep in touch with the activities in the social sciences. All the above groups interested in the improvement of history, government, economics and sociology courses are urged to unite in this movement by sending their membership fee to the Secretary.

The idea of such a Council grew out of a Social Science Roundtable, held monthly by teachers of these subjects in the vicinity of Chicago. This winter letters were sent out by the writer to 250 representatives in all the fields mentioned above, including the administrators and teachers of education, asking their opinion as to the desirability of a national council for the social studies, in order to unify the activity of all those interested in these subjects. Practically all the replies were in favor of such an organization.

The Executive Committee particularly wants the cooperation of the associations and committees in the respective fields of history, government, economics and sociology and of the administrators and teachers of education. It asks the secretaries of such associations to assist by getting their members to join the Council. It would also like these organizations to support actively the Council. It should be emphasized that such support is nominal; it is not the desire of the new organization to control or to attempt to dominate in any way the activities and policies of these groups.

Horace Mann School,  
Teachers' College,  
New York City.

EARLE U. RUGG,  
Assistant Secretary.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, published monthly, except July, August and September, at Philadelphia, Pa., for April 1, 1921.

County of Philadelphia, }  
State of Pennsylvania, } ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County, aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred C. Willits, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, MCKINLEY PUBLISHING CO., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Editor, ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Managing Editor, ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Business Manager, ALFRED C. WILLITS, Philadelphia, Pa.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent. or more of the total amount of stock).

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, Philadelphia, Pa.  
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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state).

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....

(This information is required from daily publications only.)

ALFRED C. WILLITS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March, 1921.

JULIA M. O'BRIEN.

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Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of. *A day book of Benjamin Disraeli*. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 136 pp. \$1.50.

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The Case of General Lanrezac. Scrutator (*National Review*, March). The commander of the 5th French Army, which retired on August 23, 1914.

Escape of the *Goeben*. L. Cope Cornford (*National Review*, March).

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